## MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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#### MISSOURI RIVER TRANSPORTATION IN THE EXPANSION OF THE WEST

BY EDGAR A. HOLT

There has been no other natural agent more important than the rivers in the expansion of the West. They have been both guiding lines and means of communication for the immigrant and his family who sought in the West that freedom from restraint which characterized frontier life. The Missouri stretching in a sort of fan formation opened the way to the Northwest just as the Ohio pointed the way to the fertile Mississippi river valley. The Missouri river opened a vast tract of country to settlement since from its source, within one mile of the headquarters of the Oregon rivers to St. Louis, it is two thousand four hundred and eleven miles long. Of all western rivers the Missouri was probably the most difficult to navigate due to such physical features as snags, sand bars, shifting channels, winds, storms, rapidity of currents, meanderings, crumbling banks, lack of proper kind of fuel in the prairie country, ice gorges, and the climate. Brackenridge, an early observer of the Missouri river, said: "Wherever the river has a wider channel than ordinary, there is usually a sand bar in the middle. This extraordinary river sometimes pursues a straight course for ten or fifteen miles. then suddenly turns to every point of the compass. In other places, the whole volume of its waters is compressed into a channel of two or three hundred yards, again suddenly opening to the width of one or even two miles with islands and sand bars scattered through the space."

Because of such conditions and because of the fact that the railroads have transplanted inland water communication so completely it is difficult for anyone to conceive the part which Missouri river steamboat navigation played in the development of the West. In the years from the historic Lewis and Clark Expedition to the completion of the Great Northern Railway to Bismarck, N. D., in 1872, it was a prime consideration in the planting of towns, the establishment of fur trading posts and government Indian agencies. Due to these conditions St. Louis became the trading emporium for the West.

A study of the mechanics of the Missouri river transportation system will reveal the tremendous part which the "Great Muddy" played in the life of the Missouri valley towns. The carrying trade was run upon a definite system embracing in its scope fixed schedules, freight rates, and a certain esprit de corps of the steamboatmen.

In 1850 from the opening of navigation in the spring to June 13, no boats went above Council Bluffs. From the clearing of the ice in February they had plied between such points as St. Louis, Lexington, Jefferson City, St. Joseph, Weston, Hermann, Osage River, Iowa Point, Rocheport, Boonville, and Glasgow. Two of the most famous steamboatmen were Captain Joseph LaBarge and Captain Andrew Wineland. The former has been made famous by Major Hiram Martin Chittenden's notable work, Early Steamboat Navigation of the Missouri River.

There was keen competition among the steamboatmen for the control of the Missouri river traffic. Especially was this true during the decade 1850-1860 when there were more than fifty steamboats working the trade. In order to attract patronage the boat owners placed their craft at the disposal of agencies which advertised their advantages, dates of departure and arrival at St. Louis, and arranged for the cargoes. Among the most prominent of these agencies were the Wall and Scott, the T. H. Larkin and Company, and the Thomas Lapsley Company, and the R. F. Sass. In 1850 Wall and Scott controlled at least fifty of the Missouri river craft. The rates in 1850 for Missouri steamboats under one hundred and fifty tons were \$10.00 per trip; \$25.00 for craft of tonnage between three hundred and four hundred tons; \$20.00 for steamers with a tonnage of from one hundred and fifty to three hundred tons; and \$30.00 per trip for all those over four hundred tons. The number of boats increased to such an extent that in the year 1855 the price had fallen to \$7.00 per trip for boats of all sizes.

Every boat ran on a set schedule advertised for days ahead of time so that Missouri river transportation assumed much the same aspect of regularity as railroad transportation under normal conditions. The schedule of the steamboat "Rowena," Captain William C. Jewett, master, shows the regularity of the traffic and the system upon which it was run. This schedule was to begin upon the opening of navigation and continue throughout the season. The "Rowena" left St. Louis every Tuesday at 6 p. m.; arrived at Glasgow in the afternoon of Thursday: left Glasgow on her return on Friday at 10:00 a. m. touching at Arrow Rock, Boonville, Rocheport, Providence, Nashville, Marion, and Jefferson City on the same day. Saturday such points as Osage. Cote Sans Dessein. Smith's Landing, St. Aubert, Portland, Hermann, Pinckney, Washington, Augusta, and St. Charles were visited by the "Rowena." Captain Iewett ran his schedule so as to arrive in St. Louis every Sunday morning. Like all the other river men he had agents at all the principal points along the river to care for the interest of the trade.

The boats leaving for the Yellowstone river did not run on any special schedule but were generally chartered by the American Fur Company or by the Federal Government to carry supplies to the fur traders and freight for the Indian agencies and for the troops which were stationed along the river. Such a steamer, the "St. Ange," Captain Joseph LaBarge, master, was chartered by R. and W. Campbell and Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company for \$6,000.00 to leave St. Louis on June 13, 1850, for Port Union. After filling the contract Captain LaBarge left Fort Union July 9 and returned to St. Louis in ten days. This fast speed was made possible by a rise in the river and by a favorable boating stage during the whole trip. The cargo consisted of 632 packs of buffalo robes, 32 pactons of buffalo robes, and 10 sacks buffalo skins-all for R. and W. Campbell. Pierre Chouteau and Company received 106 packs of buffalo robes. Besides these there were on board "several mountain birds, a deer, a buffalo calf, and other wild varmints." The character and amount of the fur trade required only a limited number of steamers and hence the arrangement by contract.

Each year additional boats were added to the swarm which plied the fickle Missouri, in answer to the demand for transportation by streams of immigrants which were filtering into the West in spite of the slavery dispute. The seasons of 1856 and 1858 were notable in the history of Missouri river steamboat navigation for three events: the establishment of the Pacific Railroad Packet Line, the beginning of the St. Louis and St. Joseph Packet Lines, and the famous ice breakup at the Port of St. Louis.

In the summer of 1856 Captain Barton, Captain Able, and Louis A. Shelton entered into a contract with the Pacific Railroad Company whereby these men placed in connection with the Pacific Railway service three steamers, the "Cataract," the "F. X. Aubry," and the "Australia." Tri-weekly connections were made between St. Louis and Weston by way of Jefferson City. In the advertisement heralding the debut of the new line is invested the atmosphere of early transportation development in the West. "By railroad to Jefferson City thence by a daily line of elegant mail steamers to all points on the river as high as St. Joseph, connecting there with the various packet and stage lines for Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa. Fare as low as by any other route. Time saved over the river route full thirty hours." In such a vein the advertising columns of the St. Louis papers called attention to the possibilities of the river traffic. When the line was actually opened it attracted so much patronage that it was made a daily packet with the exception of Sunday. A traveler going to St. Joseph could buy his ticket straight through and have his baggage so checked, and go by rail to Jefferson City one hundred and twenty-five miles from St. Louis, where a covered gangway led direct to the packet. According to schedule he would arrive in Lexington in 36 hours; Kansas City in 48 hours; Leavenworth City in 21/2 days and at St. Joseph in three days. This provided a diversity of travel and diminished the time of the trip by thirty hours. Tickets by this route were available at all the principal railway offices in the East and at all the St. Louis offices.

About this time another line sprang into existence. Due to the increased amount of travel in the territories of Kansas, Nebraska, and Utah, the steamboats in use on the Missouri were not sufficient to handle the large numbers who sought homes in the great West. Indeed, each spring the upstream boats were crowded to the limit with Pike's Peakers, troopers, and the enthusiasts bound for "bleeding Kansas."

A number of steamboatmen in 1858 formed the St. Louis and St. Joseph Union Packet Line and obtained twelve first class boats to meet the cars at Jefferson City and to care for the immigrants. These boats made daily trips between St. Louis and St. Joseph, touching at all intervening points. Each day a steamer left the terminal points and great attention was paid to way business so as to build up as large a patronage as possible. Some of the most famous boats of this line were the "Peerless," the "Morning Star," the "A. B. Chambers," the "Minnehaha," the "Twilight," and the "Ben Lewis."

Every boat was a "floating palace," and the commanders were old experienced rivermen who were "proverbial for kindness of heart and courteousness of disposition." The men in charge of the boats let no opportunity pass to make them favorites among their patrons. A sort of pride possessed the rivermen and the engineers were models of care to avoid accidents. Stewards were very careful to have every dish of the season. Such bills of fare scarcely grace the best of our hotels today. The bill of fare of one steamboat contained such items as soup, fish, boiled chicken, and turkey, roasts, cold dishes of three varieties, entrees with such things as "Haricot of Mutton a la Française," pigeons, "Grilles garni de Trouches de petit sal," and "Cotelettes de parc Frais a la Americaine," game relishes, vegetables of the season, pudding and pastry, dessert, and a large assortment of wines such as claret, sherries, Madeira, champaigne, Burgundy, and port.

Not only was the quality of service on board the boats excellent but many of the craft themselves were models of service and style. One of the best of these boats was the "J. M. Converse," Captain G. W. Bowman, master. The "J.

M. Converse" was added to the Missouri river trade in the 1856 season and a great crowd was attracted to the wharf on her appearance. Her dimensions were: length, 275 feet; beam, 35 feet, and depth of hold, 6 feet. She was equipped with the latest of improvements including machinery for hoisting freight. In the words of an eve witness: "the 'I. M. Converse' is beautiful. She is light and graceful on the water, and is said to be swift. She is built after the best models for speed and her timbers are remarkably strong and durable. Her engines are of the greatest power and highest finish. Inside the 'Converse' is one of the most elegant looking boats we ever saw. The carpets in the cabins are of the best Brussels, and the gilding—and there is plenty of it has been executed in fine taste. The cabin has been furnished with a piano; there is also a nursery and bathroom for the general convenience of travelers. Nothing is wanting that taste could suggest or skill provide to make the 'Converse' one of the best built and best finished boats afloat."

Such were the Missouri river boats in the high stage of river navigation. They played a large part in the building of the early Missouri river towns and the settling of the West. The glamour which Mark Twain has imparted to Mississippi river navigation is equally applicable to the navigation of the Missouri; perhaps even more so because it was the stranger and more weird course in the path of a growing empire.

In 1860 the St. Joseph and Omaha Packet Company was formed to make connections with the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railway at St. Joseph. This road was completed to St. Joseph in 1859 and the new boat line in charge of Captain Rufus Ford was installed to connect St. Joseph and Omaha. There was a real demand for this venture and the business prospered. Captain Ford was a good business man and great efforts were made to accommodate through passengers at St. Joseph, by having a warehouse at that point where the freight of patrons could be stored without charge while waiting for the northbound boats.

The steamboat carrying trade was not only arranged to care for those who made the Missouri river a part of their route of travel but also to accommodate those who crossed by land and were forced to ferry across that stream. Steam ferry-boats replaced the old hand ferries and were located at all convenient cross-country starting points. There was a keen rivalry among the river towns for the disembarkation points. The St. Joseph Steam Ferry called attention to the advantages of St. Joseph as an outfitting point and provided a ferry-boat which was capable of crossing the river every five minutes and of carrying two hundred head of cattle and at least twelve wagons. This boat was large and contained a hall and commodious staterooms sufficient to accommodate one hundred and twenty-five persons comfortably. Board and lodging were reserved for the immigrants. This ferry-boat was operated by Wright Williamson and Company.

In 1859 increased efficiency was brought about in order to serve the vast number of passengers who were thronging the Pike's Peak route. Part of this improvement came through the services of the Pacific Railroad Packet Line. The "Southwestern," Captain Porter, master, left St. Louis at ten o'clock on Wednesday mornings and connected with the cars at Jefferson City for points as high as St. Joseph; while the "Kate Howard," Captain Joseph D. Nanson, master, left St. Louis on Tuesdays at the same hour for the regular Jefferson City connections. The "Platte Valley," Captain William C. Postal, master, started on Monday making the same connections. The "Skylark" was another railroad packet which made Tuesday connections. Steamboat connections were also provided for points above Jefferson City. The "Ben Lewis," Captain Thomas H. Brierly, master, met the Jefferson City cars from upper river points and catered almost exclusively to the railroad trade, because the best cabin rooms were reserved for such passengers. This was evidently a very popular boat since a Jefferson City paper stated that "the fast clipper, and elegant passenger steamer Ben Lewis \* \* left this port for St. Joseph yesterday with a fine load Another popular railroad packet was the "Rowof people." ena," Captain John T. Dozier, master, which left St. Louis on Sunday and met the Jefferson City cars on Monday morning.

This effort at consolidation of lines so as to bring about continuity of traffic is characteristic of that great period in American transportation when consolidation and control became the test of financial success. The steamboatmen combined their efforts to prohibit cutthroat competition and to provide a continuity of service which was not possible under the management of so many different men. It was the answer to the demand of the new settlements for a more constant service. It marked the final epoch in the growth of river navigation, since by its very nature it brought about that demand for quick transportation which necessitated a railroad. As the railroads advanced up the Missouri the packet lines moved northward first to Omaha and Council Bluffs then to Sioux City, and later to Bismarck and Fort Benton.

The freight rates varied from season to season and from year to year. In the spring of 1850 the general level of freight rates from St. Louis to Boonville and Glasgow was twenty-five cents per hundred pounds on "pound freight," seventy-five cents per barrel on molasses, and fifty cents per barrel on whisky. To all points above Glasgow the freight rate per hundred pounds was thirty-five cents and on molasses and whisky it was from seventy-five cents to a dollar per barrel.

A sharp increase in the rates came in 1852. The spring rate on "pound freight" had risen to thirty cents for Glasgow and from forty to fifty cents for points above. On molasses and whisky there was a more pronounced rise to a dollar and a quarter per barrel to Glasgow and from one dollar and a half to two dollars for points above. The fall rates showed a still sharper advance to fifty cents per hundred pounds to Glasgow and from seventy-five cents to a dollar for points above. One reason which may be offered for this is the great increase in the volume of business.

In 1856 there was another sharp rise due possibly to the rapid influx of those bound for Kansas. The Missouri River Marine Association met on March 4 and adopted the following rates: seventy-five cents per hundred pounds to Brunswick, one dollar per hundred pounds to Kansas City and a dollar and a quarter per hundred to Weston and St. Joseph. The rates on river shipments now remained rather stable

with the exception of the year 1859 when the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak drew other thousands to the long overland trail.

Passenger rates were more stable on the lower river than were the freight rates. On the upper Missouri passengers were charged what the traffic would bear, which was usually very heavy for those who had been away from civilization for some time. On the lower river where there was heavy competition and where the traffic was constant the cabin rate to Brunswick was six dollars. The cabin rates to St. Joseph and Council Bluffs were ten and sixteen dollars respectively. The deck rates for corresponding places were two, three and four dollars. Each trip made in 1855 and 1856 should at the above rates have netted the owners something over one thousand dollars from the passenger trade alone.

A study of the Missouri steamboat organization is incomplete without a knowledge of the rates traveled by the boats. To make the quickest trip became a matter of pride for all steamboatmen. Races, as such, were not practiced. on the Missouri as they were on the Mississippi. The "Saranak No. 2" made the trip from St. Louis to Council Bluffs, a distance of five hundred and ninety-one miles, in six days and twenty hours. The "John Warner" made a trip to St. Joseph and back in one week, heavily loaded going up and with a fair load on the return trip. A speedy trip in April, 1852, was that made by the "Highland Mary," which left Kansas City on April 1, at twelve o'clock noon and arrived in St. Louis on April 2, at six o'clock in the afternoon. The distance from Kansas City to St. Louis being four hundred and fifty seven miles the rate amounted to more than fifteen miles per hour counting the time of stopping for the night.

The Missouri river was the means used by the Federal Government in the transportation of millions of dollars worth of supplies to the Indian tribes of the Valley. The government had made numerous treaties with the Indians undertaking to supply them with certain provisions annually. By reason of its location St. Louis was made an Indian superintendency and all goods to the Missouri river Indians were carried by the Missouri crafts. Some of the tribes receiving annuities

were the Winnebago, Potawatomie, Chippewa, Delaware, Wyandot, Shawnee, Miami, Osage, Sauk and Fox, Iowa, Kickapoo, Omaha, Assiniboin, Blackfeet, and Crow.

The transportation of these annuity goods was carried out annually and it became an integral part of government Indians relations. The government service took part in the penetration of the far West and by means of one of its annual expeditions added the final chapter to the history of Missouri river navigation, begun by the "Western Engineer" in 1819.

The government transportation service extended to the supplying of troops stationed in the Valley. Forts were located on the crumbling banks of the Missouri in order to take advantage of steam transportation. The most active years of military transportation were 1856 and 1859. The increase in 1856 was brought about by the Kansas dispute and that of 1859 by the outbreaks of the fierce Sioux Indians. Troops were taken to the far western posts by the government steamer, and were supplied with provisions through the activities of the rivermen. The Missouri river therefore became a part of the military frontier and provided a means of penetration for the pacification of the savages.

The striking feature about Missouri river steamboating was the immense amount of freight and passenger traffic handled. The Santa Fe trade added to the volume of lower Missouri traffic as did the nondescript freight of those westbound immigrants who were seeking Oregon and California. With the transportation of all these supplies the life of the river towns was closely connected and the activity at the wharves of some of the more prominent is indicative of the

character and volume of the freight trade.

A visitor who took the river route in 1859 reflected upon the Missouri and the volume of the business it supported. In making the trip from St. Joseph to Leavenworth in 1859 he described aptly his journey in the words: "The rough, turbulent, and ever restless Missouri was in good boating order, and our steamer sped along like a thing of life, touching at several points on the Kansas side, and some very flourishing looking cities, among the latter being Sumner and Atchison."

Although upon their arrival at Weston it was raining very hard the city was alive with people and on the wharf everything was bustle and confusion. There was to be a celebration in Weston on that day and the "Platte Valley," which had brought the observant visitor, went on to Leavenworth and brought back a load of people. St. Joseph was one of the busiest river towns and the visitor was struck by the fact that "at the wharf, there was a continual arrival and departure of magnificent steamers, loading and unloading rich and valuable cargoes." He further observed that there were two first rate steamboats continually plying from shore to shore, one to Ellwood and the other to Belmont, "loaded to the guards with animated beings of both sexes, bipeds, quadrupeds, and everything else in the richest profusion imaginable."

In much the same way the character of life at Omaha, Nebraska City, and Council Bluffs was viewed by J. Jewett Wilcox, clerk of the steamboat "Omaha." The "Omaha," Captain Andrew Wineland, master, left St. Louis February 26, 1859, for a trip to Council Bluffs and Omaha. On March 4 a large amount of freight and a number of passengers were taken on board at St. Joseph, and the "Omaha" left for Council Bluffs the next day. Since she was the first boat of the season above St. Joseph at every point above that place her appearance at the wharf was the signal for the immediate congregation of all the inhabitants. At Nebraska City over thirty thousand gunnies were left to be loaded with corn from that vicinity. This was in marked contrast to the state of affairs two years previous when the "Omaha" was engaged in carrying corn to this same town. Omaha greeted the first boat of the season on March 10 and as the little craft swung in abreast of the levee it was greeted with a salute of ten rousing guns from a six pounder stationed on the brow of a hill overlooking the river. The "Omaha" returned a like salute and immediately "men, women, children, horses, mules, oxen, wagons, carriages, and Pawnee Indians" thronged the wharf. Omaha was a busy river town and her enterprising citizens did not intend to permit the trade incident to the gold rush to be monopolized by her sister cities. A handbill was left on board the boat announcing the discovery of gold and the prices of transportation from that point.

The bustle and confusion of the wharves at all such river towns was magnified several times at St. Louis, the entreport of all the trade. A proud citizen of St. Louis observed that "the steam marine at the wharf presented a fine appearance. For more than a mile there is a solid mass of boats, everyone of them engaging in receiving or discharging freight. The levee itself is covered with goods and thousands of people are hurrying to and fro, intent on business and dodging the drays and other vehicles that occupy the space assigned to them...."

By 1860 the freight trade of the Missouri river had reached enormous proportions, amounting in 1859 to a larger number of vessels than left St. Louis for both the upper and lower Mississippi. Missouri river freighting furnished the numerous towns of the Missouri valley with provisions and carried back to the market their products. The Missouri steamboats transported the immigrants and their assortment of household goods a few hundred miles on their journey to the states of the middle West, to California and Oregon, and to the gold regions of Pike's Peak.

The passengers varied from the uncouth employees of the fur company, the plains Indians on their way to see their "Great Father," the scientist and traveler for mere interest, the missionaries who gave their lives for the conversion of the savages, the enthusiastic protagonists of a Kansas Free State and their equally excited antagonists, the Pike's Peakers and "Forty-Niners," to the future presidents of the United States.

Large numbers of government officials and soldiers took the river route, but the majority consisted of those who came to settle Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and the Pacific Coast states of Oregon and California. Up to 1855 most of the emigrants were bound for California and Oregon but in 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Act reopened the slavery issue. In the following years there was a constant stream of emigrants from North and South to the new territory. Large numbers of these settlers took the river route.

During the early part of the decade the California and Oregon migration was in full swing and in the spring every boat from the Ohio or Mississippi rivers was crowded with overland immigrants. During three days in May 1852 four hundred immigrants left St. Louis by steamer bound for the Pacific Coast. There were at that time sixty families ready to take the boats for Missouri and Iowa points.

A newspaper reporter in viewing the tremendous traffic which developed during those years said, "the capacity of all our upriver boats is tested to their limits in affording accommodations to those seeking passage." On April 14 a large band of California immigrants with sixty head of oxen, twelve head of horses, and twenty wagons took a boat to St. Joseph. Indeed in the seasons of 1851 and 1852 when freight traffic was slack some of the boats relied almost entirely upon the

emigrant trade to make profits.

The life on board one of these boats is vividly portrayed by Francis Parkman. He took passage on board the "Radnor" when "her upper deck was covered with large wagons of a peculiar form for the Santa Fe' trade, and her hold was crammed with goods for the same destination." Parkman further observed that "there were also the equipments and provisions of a party of Oregon immigrants, a band of mules and horses, piles of saddles and harness and a multitude of nondescript articles, indispensable on the prairies." The cultured Parkman must have had a keen perception for this bizarre environment for "in her cabin were Santa Fe' traders, gamblers, speculators, and adventurers of various descriptions and her steerage was crowded with Oregon emigrants, 'mountain men,' negroes, and a party of Kansas Indians..."

Another stream of emigrants which joined the Oregon and California cavalcades was made up of Mormons. Although many came overland the whole distance others took the river route thus saving a land journey and getting a three weeks' earlier start. The steamer "Atlantic" arrived at the port of St. Louis in May 1851 carrying two hundred and forty English Mormons. Here they were unloaded and the "Banner State," Captain Gormley, master, was engaged to carry them to Council Bluffs. Such arrivals were common during the

early fifties. The steamer "Sacramento" left St. Louis May 21, 1851, for Council Bluffs, with two hundred and thirty Mormons. The only incident which broke the monotony of an otherwise dull trip was the birth of a baby which was promptly christened Sacramento. The May 15, 1852, issue of the Daily Missouri Republican notes that a large number of Mormons took passage on board the "Robert Campbell" carrying with them a number of hydraulic instruments for the manufacture of salt. During this period such departures were almost daily. Those taking passage from St. Louis joined their brethren at Council Bluffs, Kanesville, and other convenient cross-country starting points. Large numbers of these Mormons were from foreign countries such as England.

The Missouri river boats were crowded not only with emigrants for the far West, but such states as Nebraska, Iowa, and Western Missouri drew large numbers from this artery of travel. The St. Louis Intelligencer in 1855 records that every boat from the Ohio and Mississippi rivers was crowded to the limit with passengers bound for Iowa and Kansas. In the fifties nearly every boat up the Missouri carried not only freight but also settlers to people the beautiful valley of the Missouri. Such a crowd of people was that carried by the steamer "Omaha" which left St. Louis in May 1856 for Omaha and intervening points. The "Omaha" carried both Salt Lake immigrants and Nebraska settlers. Most of the settlers were bound for Omaha and its vicinity. Omaha was at that time experiencing a real estate boom as was evidenced by the actual sales of land which took place on board the steamer and the relative abundance of money carried by the passengers who expected to invest in Omaha real estate. The prospective settlers "were flooded with circulars and pamphlets booming the country" in anticipation of the glad new day in the growth of the West.

A summary of some other boats and passengers will show the great importance of the migration of the period in the story of river navigation. The "Polar Star" left the port of St. Louis March 27, 1855, with a heavy load of passengers, numbering at least three hundred and fifty, deck and cabin. These passengers were bound for various lower Missouri river towns, the one receiving the largest quota being St. Joseph. On October 30, 1855, the "A. B. Chambers," one of the finest of the Missouri river steamers, departed for lower river points with one hundred and twenty tons of freight and nearly three hundred passengers.

Not as spectacular as the Pike's Peak episode in river navigation perhaps, but much more momentous was the part played by the Missouri river craft in the Kansas dispute. Upon the reopening of the slavery controversy there ensued a wild scramble to secure Kansas. Large numbers embarked not only at Missouri river points but also at the Ohio, Illinois and Mississippi rivers towns, all bound for Kansas City.

Since most of the Missouri river steamboatmen were pro-slavery in their views these interests had somewhat the advantage. At least they were not backward in carrying men to Kansas by this route as is proven in the case of the "Die Vernon" which transported a large number of Mississippians under Captain Beckett to the scene of dispute. This was in the fall of 1856 and among the earlier boats engaged in such trade in the spring was the "James H. Lucas." A correspondent on board this boat on one of her April trips reported that "if this trip of the 'James H. Lucas' (was) a type of emigration to Kansas it (was) all a one sided business in favor of the South and Slavery." During these years the steamboat business was doing a large amount of transportation due largely to the Kansas immigration as well as the natural influx of settlers. The St. Louis Intelligencer for that year describes all the Missouri river boats as being jammed with passengers.

The "Free-Staters" also shared in the transportation of settlers to Kansas and the following incident shows the perilous state of affairs in those years immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. A steamboat agency of St. Louis contracted with the officers of the "Star of the West" to transport one hundred and twenty-five emigrants from Alton, Illinois, to Leavenworth. These emigrants were bound for Kansas, presumably for the purpose of settling there. When the "Star of the West" arrived at Alton there were only

seventy-six men prepared to leave. During the day they placed on board their baggage and, before departing at night and unknown to the Captain, they armed themselves with Hall's carbines. The next morning the Captain forced them to discharge their rifles and then stored them in the cabin. But before the expedition arrived at Lexington the "emigrants" had secured their weapons and had loaded them. The citizens of that town heard of the character of the "emigrants" who, fearing interception, tried first to presuade and then to bribe the Captain against landing. He was obdurate and persisted in wharving at Lexington where a committee came on board and demanded the leaders of the party. A. C. Griffin and A. A. Griffin of Chicago answered in that capacity and were asked to give up their arms. This request was complied with and receipts were given for the whole number. The "emigrants" by this time were getting worried but they were allowed to proceed. The "Star of the West" also carried David R. Atchison, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, and Mr. William H. Russell. Their fears were borne out at Kansas City where they were met by Lieutenant D. R. Jones, with a company of thirty South Carolinians, who informed them that he had orders to break up all armed parties in the territories and advised them to return home. This advice seemed good and before the "Star of the West" reached Leavenworth the "emigrants" had decided to follow it. A party of pro-slavery men had assembled there to meet the "emigrants" but no landing was made since they had given up all desire to settle in Kansas. On the return of the "Star of the West" she met the "Sultan" on the way up with about forty of the same variety of "emigrants" who had already come to the same conclusion concerning the general undesirability of settling as armed parties in Kansas Territory. Such an incident is recalled in the case of the steamboat "Omaha" earlier in the same year. On one of her May trips to Omaha she carried besides many settlers for that town several chests of arms. These chests were regarded suspiciously by the passengers but the boat, in the words of a passenger was "all right," its officers being of pro-slavery type.

Another incident which drew large numbers to the West by the river route in the latter part of the decade was the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak on January 15, 1859. This was probably the most profitable year in the history of Missouri river steamboat navigation, judging from the number of vessels engaged in the traffic.

This was the glad new day of the steamboat trade when every boat from the Ohio, Illinois, and Mississippi rivers contributed its quota of a footloose population to the ever growing western exodus. The Daily Missouri Republican for March 19, 1859, proudly records the arrival of three boats from the Ohio river crowded to the limit and one "in the same condition from the Illinois river." The Republican further states "they are coming from all quarters of the country: North, South, and East, are pouring their footloose population directly through our city enroute for the gold regions... Every boat bound for the Missouri is jammed with people."

In this year the Pacific Railroad Packet Company made a strong effort to accommodate the increasingly larger number of passengers who chose the river route. During this season packets were increased to thirty-five. Fourteen, comprising the swiftest and best adapted to the passenger trade, were selected to make close connection with the cars of the Pacific Railroad at Jefferson City. The other boats also connected on the downward trip in case of the failure of one of the regular boats. Great care was taken to provide for the safety and pleasure of the passenger and this line, for speed and comfort, compared favorably with any on the western waters.

In view of such adequate preparations for handling the passenger trade the *Chicago Railroad Gazette* called the attention of those contemplating the western trip, to the St. Louis route. That paper advised all such persons to take the Union Pacific Railroad to Jefferson City and the steamboat to Leavenworth or any starting point they had selected on the Missouri river. The Pike's Peakers were not slow to take advantage of any means that would bring them a few hundred miles nearer their goal and the entire season witnessed a phenomenal patronage of the Missouri river craft. The enthusiastic reporter for the March 17, 1854, issue of the

Daily Missouri Republican stated that "the captains, clerks, and mates of Missouri river packets have to fight the freight away. All the packets go out jammed with passengers, a large number of whom are bound for Pike's Peak. We never saw such a rush of travel as is going up the Missouri at the present time...."

An absence of monotony was a characteristic of Missouri river steamboating. Aside from the constant expectations of being snagged there was always the possibility of a boiler explosion with its accompanying thrills. Another interesting feature of steamboating was the ever changing scenery of the numerous bends and jutting banks interspersed with verdant prairies.

The social life was nearly always of the most lively sort. Each boat was supplied with a piano, generally a brass band and always a string band so that at night a dance was always in order, the Virginia reel usually being the favorite. At all the towns lining the river it was a common practice for young parties to board the steamer for an excursion. After the tables and chairs were removed from the salon they disported themselves to the tune of the old Virginia reel and its contemporaries. The addition of the rougher voyageurs back from a mountain life of two or three years always considerably enlivened proceedings and they usually proceeded to drink all the liquor on board and play cards during the whole trip to St. Louis. The Pike's Peakers were even more reckless and marvels of gambling on board these western boats would have put Monte Carlo to shame.

The Missouri river steamboat took its place in the transportation of thousands of those who settled the great western domain. Traffic from the Ohio, Illinois, and Mississippi rivers converged at St. Louis where the Missouri river was the only water route westward. On the Missouri crafts were mixed all those currents of the American frontier, the savage, the fur trader, the soldier, the missionary, and the settler. On its human side its traditions came to be those of the Mississippi, even though less widely known. Those traditions in fact were the more picturesque because the Missouri river remained longer a part of the frontier. Pride in his craft

became a virtue of the Missouri pilot as it was a characteristic of the Mississippi pilot. The Mississippi river tradition of courtesy, honesty, and personal bravery was a salient characteristic of the Missouri river steamboatmen.

Beginning in 1819, when the "Western Engineer" first ascended the "Big Muddy," the Missouri steamboat served, first of all, the fur trader, by enabling him to carry on swifter and more efficient communication with the distant fur trading posts. The screeching dingey, with its one boiler engine and its stern wheel, pushed its prow into the farthest tips of the Missouri and its tributaries. It carried to the lonely forts provisions for another year and took back to St. Louis, the growing metropolis of the West, the fur catch of the .previous year, those employees who longed for a return to the comforts of civilization, and an occasional celebrity, government official or missionary. It brought to the Indians, death in the form of the white man's "Fire water," as well as contagious diseases which at times almost depopulated the river tribes. It was a great factor in the penetration of the far Northwest and it was a part of the final as well as the initial chapter of the winning of the West. The soldier, the go-between in the strife of savagery and civilization, was carried to the scenes of his thankless task and was sustained at his lonely posts by the services of the steam carrying trade.

The Missouri carrying trade played its part in that most phenomenal of all western episodes: the mining frontier. Forty-Niners and later Pike's Peakers used Missouri river steamboats in a desperate effort to take advantage of a few hundred miles of river transportation in the attainment of their El Dorado. It was a most interesting period in American history and one characteristic of the western mold when the frenzied seekers and more frenzied possessors of the yellow metal gathered in the cabins of the Missouri river steamers in a journey to the last American frontier.

Its more lasting, if somewhat more prosaic service, was the building of the towns of the Missouri river valley. Herein it played a part in the final enactment of the slavery drama and carried to Kansas both Free States and pro-slavery men, there to test the efficacy of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The life of the towns along its course, before the era of the railroads, was centered in the river carrying trade and the bustling activities of many of the river towns was destined to decline when the railroads entered the field.

In 1858 Missouri river steamboat navigation reached its height. In that year there were over sixty regular packets plying between the river towns besides about forty transient boats which ventured up that stream for occasional trips. By that time regular packet lines had been established to Kansas City, St. Joseph, Omaha, Council Bluffs, and even Sioux City, carrying United States mail, freight, and passengers. Indeed so much of the life of the people had it become that the arrival of the regular packet was looked upon with the same degree of assurance with which one now regards the passenger trains. In the decade under consideration at most any of the upriver towns as many as five or six boats could be seen at one landing at the same time and scarcely at any time from March to November was one out of sight along that part of the river between St. Joseph and St. Louis.

With the brief exception of the renewed activity in the steamboat trade incident to the discovery of gold in Montana when there were as many as thirty-nine arrivals at Fort Benton in one year, the building of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railway to St. Joseph in 1859 sounded the knell for the destruction of that trade. As the railroads penetrated to higher points on the Missouri the steamboats moved to the upper reaches to avoid the competition and when in 1872 the Northern Pacific Railroad entered Bismarck the doom of the steamboat traffic was sealed.

Thus the evolution was complete and the needs of the country were served. The Missouri river, stretching in a sort of fan formation from the tips of the Rocky Mountains and reaching the Mississippi by successive loops and gradations, provided the means for the rapid penetration of the far West. It has cause to be remembered through the active service of the fur trader, the government surveyor, the soldier, the missionary, and finally the actual settler. Throughout

all these frontier stages the periods of western penetration are accurately portrayed but the day of the river steamboat is gone, giving away to the insistent demand of civilization for a more rapid and regular transportation service.

#### ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MISSOURI D. A. R.

BY MRS. W. R. PAINTER

On October 11th, 1890, eighteen noble women came together in Washington, D. C., and laid the foundation for the powerful patriotic society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The membership now stands at 150,000, covering every state in the union and reaching into foreign lands. The society has expanded into an organization of unprecedented growth and dignity of purpose, with the confidence, respect, and co-operation of our National Government.

The service of good women in time of peace is far more important to a nation than in time of war. The Government has a strong ally in the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Missouri has had no small part in this great work. Every Daughter on our rolls has helped in the foundation and work of our society. Having been organized into a state society in 1897, it has ever been ready to do its part faithfully and well, now having a membership of more than 5,000 in the State.

The first state conference of the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution met in St. Louis, November 15th and 16th, 1899, at the home of the state regent, Mrs. George H. Sheilds. Mrs. T. O. Towles of Jefferson City attended that meeting.

During the Spanish-American war, every chapter then organized in Missouri took a zealous and active part in administering to the comfort, health and wants of our soldiers. Our chapters sent not only liberal supplies of food, clothing, and delicacies to the "boys at the front" but furnished eighteen trained nurses to look after and care for the sick and wounded. One of these noble women, Dr. Irene S. Toland, of St. Louis, paid with her life for her devotion to duty. Her name is on the honor roll of those who died for their country.

At the state conference held at Cape Girardeau, November, 1902, Mrs. Samuel McKnight Green, state regent, a resolution was made by Mrs. John N. Booth, of St. Louis Chapter, and seconded by Miss Dalton, of Jefferson City, "That a bill be prepared and sent to the Legislature, to prevent the desecration of the flag." Judge George H. Sheilds prepared the bill and through the efforts of Miss Dalton it became a law in 1903. This bill has served to awaken respect for our flag and keep merchants and citizens from using it as a medium of advertising.

In 1903 the St. Louis Chapter placed a handsome boulder of red Missouri granite in the National Cemetery at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, to the memory of the unknown soldier

of Old Fort Bellefontaine.

Mrs. B. F. Gray appointed a committee to look into the condition of the mountaineers of the Missouri Ozark mountains. Six hundred and fifty dollars in scholarships are now maintained there and general financial help is given to the Ozark School by the State Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mrs. George B. Macfarland, state regent, organized twenty-two chapters receiving commendation from the President General.

The locating and marking of the Old Sante Fe Trail and the Boon's Lick Road and urging their adoption as a cross-state highway were accomplished after years of heroic effort under the leadership of Mrs. John Van Brunt and Miss Elizabeth Gentry of Kansas City, Miss Gentry having been appointed national chairman of the Old Trails Road. Every traveler or tourist over the great highways of America who loves his country and its history will delight in reading by the wayside its story written in tablets, monuments, and historic arches.

El Camino Real is the oldest public road in Missouri. During the Spanish domination it became known as the King's Highway. The first permanent settlement in Missouri was made near the present city of Ste. Genevieve, in what is still known as the Big Field, about 1732. St. Louis was next in 1764. Gradually, as the population of the country increased,

this road became more distinct and well defined. From St. Louis to Caruthersville the Daughters of the American Revolution have placed nine granite boulders to mark the historic old road,—one each at Caruthersville, New Madrid, Sikeston, Benton, Rock Lone Road, Cape Girardeau, Perryville, Ste. Genevieve, and Kimswick.

Through the efforts of the Missouri Daughters of the American Revolution the State Flag of Missouri was created by legislative act March 22, 1913. It was designed under the direction of the state regent, Mrs. R. B. Oliver, and the first one made was placed in Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C. The flag consists of three horizontal stripes of equal width, red, white and blue, with the State Seal in the center, surrounded by a band of blue bearing twenty-four white stars.

The St. Joseph Chapter marked with a splendid monument the original starting point of the Pony Express.

The Elizabeth Benton Chapter of Kansas City, the oldest chapter in the State, after years of effort, completed and unveiled the Thomas Hart Benton Memorial.

The names of 280 Revolutionary Soldiers buried in Missouri have been placed on a bronze tablet in our State Capitol.

Mrs. E. W. Pierce was instrumental in marking Fort Orleans in Carroll county.

When war was declared April 6th, 1917, every D. A. R. chapter and every daughter pledged their services to their country and nobly did they serve on the field and in their homes, sending Red Cross nurses and supplies, feeding and helping the soldiers. Several times the personnel on the battleship Missouri was fitted out with knitted garments from our Missouri D. A. R's. All the chapters worked faithfully with the Red Cross and Navy League. One daughter, Mrs. T. L. West of Carrollton, organized forty Red Cross chapters. The D. A. R's sent an ambulance to France at an expense of \$2,500.00. They also made generous contributions to every national call. Missouri had the honor of making the first contribution to the war relief fund of the National D. A. R's. The money contributed for war relief that made possible the splendid work of our State was \$22,-

269.90, which does not include any Liberty loans. Missouri adopted eighteen French orphans during the World War and many thousands of dollars were invested by them in government bonds.

The Missouri Daughters had a resolution passed at the National D. A. R. Congress in 1918, "That whereas, For the safety and unity of our Nation and for the happiness and prosperity of our people, it is of the utmost importance that the purpose and spirit of our schools should be the education of our children as Americans in the highest and truest meaning of the name, Therefore be it Resolved, That it is the sense of the Daughters of the American Revolution of the State of Missouri that the German language shall not be taught in any of the elementary schools which includes children to and including the eighth grade, whether such schools be public or private. We ask all members of the Daughters of the American Revolution to join with us in securing such legislation as may be necessary to this end. Some states and Governors have co-operated along this line."

The Rehabilitation and Soldiers Loan Fund has done splendid work for the disabled soldiers by aiding 1,307, under the direction of Mrs. John Trigg Moss, state regent.

Other reports bear the record of work accomplished in patriotic educational lines. The School of the Ozarks has for many years received a ten cent per capita tax from the Missouri D. A. R's, as well as many personal gifts and scholarships.

To Missouri belongs the honor of constituting the first Students Loan Fund for the purpose of aiding deserving boys and girls in obtaining an education, under Mrs. Paul D. Kitt, state regent.

Mrs. A. H. Connelly has made a splendid contribution to our records in a volume entitled "Pioneer Women of Missouri."

The Osage Chapter D. A. R., Sedalia, Missouri, started the movement which was endorsed by the State Conference and steps were taken to have the bill for the purchase of Arrow Rock Tavern presented at the session of the legislature. The bill was passed and signed by Governor Arthur M. Hyde March 16, 1923. The purchase was made by the State and the formal dedication of the event, at which time the keys of the Tayern were turned over to the Missouri D. A. R's. was on September 27, 1923. The state regent, Mrs. W. W. Botts, appointed a board of managers for the Tayern, with a finance committee and an advisory board, which committees have been working faithfully for the restoration of the Tavern. As is usually the case in repairing an old building there was much to do that only developed as the work progressed, but with careful, substantial work we expect the building to last another hundred years. The chairman of the finance committee, Mrs. W. W. Graves, and the chairman of the restoration committee, Mr. Hugh Stephens, assisted by Senator W. R. Painter secured an appropriation from the State of not to exceed \$6,000,00 if the D. A. R's would raise a like amount for the restoration of the Tavern. Governor Sam A. Baker, being a man of high ideals and strong patriotic spirit, signed the bill that will secure for us the Old Arrow Rock Tavern for another century. In addition to this amount Mrs. Graves has secured from the citizens of the State by personal contributions \$5,000,00 to restore and furnish the Old Tavern in a manner in keeping with the early traditions of the past history of our State, making a total contribution to the restoration of the Tavern of something over \$16,000.00, with many special gifts of old relics in furniture and dishes.

I have mentioned only some of the outstanding achievements of the Missouri D. A. R's. I find it extremely difficult to condense this work but space forbids my mentioning all of the splendid work accomplished. I have set forth some of the practical work of the Missouri D. A. R's but the deeper meaning of the organization is exemplified in the eighty-five organized chapters in our State, each following faithfully its belief that it is "their duty to their country to love it, to support its Constitution, to obey its Laws, to respect its Flag and to defend it against all enemies."

They are dedicated to perpetuate the spirit and uphold the ideals of the men and women who secured for us American Independence. These wield a powerful patriotic influence, kindling the fires of patriotism in every town and village and creating throughout this broad land the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to America and true American ideals.

### WESTERN MISSOURI IN 1837

BY MRS. J. H. BRONAUGH

Calhoun, Missouri, November 12, 1925.

The enclosed letter may be of value to students of the early history of Missouri. The writer, my grandfather, Rev. Amasa Jones, was born in Rindge, New Hampshire in 1796, and came to Missouri in 1821 as a member of the party of missionaries who established the historic Harmony Mission among the Osage Indians. The mission party consisted of thirty-nine members, and included, besides my grandfather and grandmother Jones, my grandfather and grandmother Austin, from near Montpelier, Vermont. It was six months after my grandparents left their homes before they arrived at the Mission. The journey to Pittsburg, by way of New York and Philadelphia, was made in government wagons. From Pittsburg the remainder of the journey was made on flatboats and keelboats, the party leaving Pittsburg April 19, 1821, and arriving at the upper waters of the Osage river in August of the same year.

Harmony Mission was located on the left bank of the Marais des Cygnes in Bates county, a little north of what is now Papinsville, and was the first settlement in Bates county, then the home of the Osages. Naturally the members of the mission party felt the need of more society, and the enclosed letter was written to my grandmother's people in Massachusetts to induce some of them or their friends to emigrate to Missouri. As far as I know the letter was not successful in bringing any of them west, but it gives a vivid picture of the impression made by the fertility of the new country upon the emigrants from the barren New England hills. When the Mission station at Harmony was abandoned later, owing to the transfer of the Osages to the reservation to the southwest, Dr. Jones and my father, Mr. J. H. Austin, settled on Deepwater, near old Germantown, in Henry county. Possibly this region is the place referred to in the letter as being ten or twelve miles distant, and capable of accommodating a hundred families. My grandfather Jones continued to labor as a minister and home missionary, organizing four or five churches in Henry, Benton and St. Clair counties, and serving for many years as their regular supply. He died at Deepwater April 17, 1870.

Very truly yours, Mrs. J. H. Bronaugh

Harmony, May 23d, 1837.

Ever dear Brethren and Sisters:

Separated as we are from your circle, you will not think it strange should we use some efforts to induce you to come to the West. We have this object in view in sending you this circular. We are already here in a land of plenty, and surrounded with all the comforts of life which we need or should desire except your society. This is a sore deprivation to us, but we do not see how it can be obviated unless we can persuade you to come and settle down by us. We have too long resided in this mild climate to endure the long and cold winters of the north. Again we have too long lived in a country surpassing almost all others in fertility to be again satisfied with the rocky and sterile regions which gave us birth. Besides this, you know that we commenced for ourselves at a very late period of life, and have not time to acquire that competence necessary to visit you. At the same time we hardly feel willing to give up all hope of our seeing you again, or enjoying some taste of that sweet friendship which should ever be found in the family circle. Did you have the same advantages on your side, that we have on ours, we would at once yield the point, and set our faces eastward. But we have all the advantage on our side of the question. To convince you of this, let one take the best field on my father's farm, and place it beside my own, which by no means is so good as most lands in this section of the country. We will say each field contains five acres. In my own field I will send one man with one horse. He shall plough, plant, bind and gather in the harvest. In the other we will send a man,

two boys, a voke of oxen, and one horse. In my field the man shall spend two days in the week for three months, the other shall spend four. Now comes the harvest. My field will yield not less than 250 bushels, the other at the extent, not more than 150. Now this calculation I conceive to be just, and I should suffer nothing in the experiment. In order that you may correctly judge of the increase of stock, it will only be necessary for me to make a fair statement of what my stock was worth one year ago, and add to it the money I have paid out since, and compare it with its present value, to show you the great advantage western people have over the eastern. My stock one year ago was valued at \$138, to which I have added \$172, making in the whole \$310 worth. Now at a very low calculation it is worth \$501. Net gain \$191. One of our neighbors about three years since paid out about 90c for hogs. This last fall after leaving twice as many at home as he had at first purchased, he sold enough to amount to between \$15.00 and \$16.00.

These things may appear astonishing to you, but they are only common specimens. A man and one horse can easily tend twenty acres of corn, for which he receives in the fall 1000 bushels, or if he sow the field to wheat, it would be but a common crop to receive in return 600 bushels. I have now made these statements to impress upon your minds the fact, that you will lose nothing by coming here, even should you expend one half in the removal. We can make purchases here almost to as good advantage as at the East. It is true (for I would not wish to hold out the bright side only) there are serious difficulties in the way, which are very sensibly felt by those of us who have been brought up under other circumstances. In nothing do we suffer more than for the want of good society. At present there are but few inhabitants about us, and not all of them of a character we could wish. But there is a way to have this difficulty obviated. Make out a company and come here and settle down together. You may in this way bring your eastern habits with you, and not be under the necessity of laying them aside. We might in this way secure to ourselves all the privileges we need, and in this way our influence would be felt, and produce greater effect than it would were we more widely scattered. There is much vacant land in this section of the country, places where entire neighborhoods might be founded. There is one of this kind within ten or twelve miles of this place, where 100 families might all be neighbors. The land for excellency cannot be surpassed by any in the state. I have had my eye upon this place for some time, with a special reference to my friends, should they be induced to remove to this section of the country.

Persons coming here would have to be accustomed to the climate, who, like a person taking a voyage at sea, might suffer some sickness, but it is not usually of long duration. Brother Timothy, I believe, is somewhat predisposed to consumption. This climate almost universally has the effect to remove all predisposition of that kind. Very few within our knowledge have died of that disease. Would say to any of our friends predisposed to that complaint, that I have no doubt but by coming and living here two or three years they will be completely relieved of every symptom of the kind.

We think it quite probable that we may be permitted to retain peaceable possession of this place; if so, you will, for the present, be able to supply yourselves with fruit from our orchard. We have 1000 bearing fruit trees. It is likely there will not be less than 3000 bushels of apples realized from them this year. Fruit trees do remarkably well. Stock does well without feeding, even in the coldest winters we have had. Taking everything into view, we cannot resist the impression, but it would be much better for many of our brothers and sisters to emigrate as soon as arrangements can be made. The country is fast filling up, and all the best places will soon be taken up. Now you might have a great chance, but in two or three years it will not be so. Two or three families might find accommodations at this place until houses could be erected. Say who will come? When may we look for you? The fall would be the best time for you to come here; you would be less likely to suffer by sickness. I have written the within for all our friends. You will be good enough to let all have the reading of it. Why not call a general meeting on the subject? Let us have an answer as soon as consistent.

Our healths are remarkably good. Mr. C. D. Ball left us yesterday on his return to St. Louis. This spring is rather backward, later frosts this season than common. The health of the people is uncommonly good. Please send when you may have an opportunity a little of the twoseed [?] barley for seed. If any of our friends should conclude to come, it will be a great pleasure to us to render them every assistance we have in our power. Give our warmest love to our dear parents. May the Lord comfort and bless them in the evening of their life, and at last receive them to glory. That you all retain a seat still in our affections, you need no other proof than what you find above. May the Lord guide you in the way he would have you go.

A[masa] and R[oxana] Jones.

To Mr. Timothy Stearns, Ashburnham, Worcester County, Mass.

## JOHN MONTIETH

## BY WM. CLARK BRECKENRIDGE

John Monteith, (Jr.) the author of "Parson Brooks" was born at Elyria, Ohio, January 31, 1833. He died at Orange, Jersey, May 4, 1918.

His father, the Reverend John Monteith, was one of the organizers and the first president of Michigan University. His mother, Abigail Harris, was the daughter of Captain Luther Harris, an instructor in Providence College, now Brown University, during the War of the Revolution.

John Monteith (Jr.) was sent to school at the early age of two and one-half years. Later he entered the Western Reserve College, which he attended for two years, and then he entered Yale University as a junior and was graduated in the well-known class of '56. He studied theology at Yale from 1856 to 1858, and took up his first pastoral charge at Terryville, Connecticut, in the latter year. From there he went to Jackson, Michigan, where he was pastor at the First Congregational Church. While at Jackson, he was married to Miss Lydia Maria Loomis, of Sandusky, Ohio, July 16, 1861. During the Civil War, he joined the United States Christian Commission and served in the Sanitary Department, from Fredericksburg to Cold Harbor. From Jackson, he was called to the Euclid Avenue Presbyterian Church in Cleveland, Ohio.

He left there in 1866, and moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where, on December 5, 1866, he organized the Pilgrim Congregational Church, which he served as pastor until the spring of 1869. On May 15, 1869, he with 71 members were granted letters of dismission from Pilgrim Church, and organized the Mayflower Church, Mr. Monteith becoming its pastor. (Mayflower Church later became the Third Congregational Church and is now known as the Fountain Park Congregational Church.)

Ill health compelled him to give up his pastoral duties, and in 1870 he purchased a farm of 125 acres at Iron Mountain, Missouri, (three miles west of Iron Mountain Station) adjacent to the farm of Governor B. Gratz Brown, and at the foot of Buford Mountain. The house and its situation are charmingly described in "Parson Brooks."

Upon the death of Ira Divoll, in June, 1871, Governor B. Gratz Brown appointed Reverend John Monteith to fill out his unexpired term as State Superintendent of the Public Schools of Missouri. He threw himself with great ardor into building up the school system of the State. He held this position until November, 1874, when an election was held, and being a Republican candidate in an overwhelmingly Democratic State, he was defeated. The one outstanding and enduring act of his administration of this office is the scheme he framed for the school system of the State of Missouri. The essential feature in this system as compared with that attempted in "The Parker Laws" which proved a failure, was the almost complete control which the people of the school districts acquired over their schools. This scheme of Monteith's of popular control and direction as adopted in 1874 still forms the basis of our school system, and has remained essentially unchanged down to the present.

In February, 1876, he assumed the duties of secretary of the State Board of Agriculture of the State of Missouri, which

position he continued to fill for two years.

Then he developed Montesano Springs near St. Louis, and later removed with his family of three daughters and two sons to Webster Groves, Missouri, where "Parson Brooks" was written. It was published in 1884 in an edition of two thousand copies, all of which, with the exception of six copies, were sold out within a space of three months after issuing from the press. While living at Webster Groves, he spent a year at Princeton, working with Professor James Johannot on some text books on natural history, and later (in 1881) he moved to Cincinnati, to do similar work for Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co. While there he wrote and published "Familiar Animals and Their Wild Kindred" and "Living Creatures of Water, Land and Air." He spent six months of 1888 in

Europe gathering natural history material for his books, then returned to Cincinnati. After returning from Europe, his wife died and he went with his three daughters to San Diego, California, where his two sons, George and John, were located.

During his nine years sojourn in California, three years of which were spent in San Diego and Coronado, and the remainder in San Francisco and Sausilito, he was engaged in editorial work on the "Clipper" and "Sun" in San Diego, and the "Californian Magazine" in San Francisco. He left California in 1899, and with his three daughters moved to New York City, where he continued educational work, assisting in the Thomas Davidson Society, a part of the Educational Alliance. While there he published "Some Useful Animals and What They Do for Us." This work as well as the two previously mentioned books on natural history are still in print, now being published by the American Book Company of New York.

About 1903 he removed to South Orange, New Jersey, where in conjunction with his three daughters, he opened the Home School for Girls on Scotland Road.

Reverend John Monteith was a superb reader and speaker, having, besides great natural ability, been trained by Murdoch, Edwin Booth's teacher. While pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church in St. Louis, he inaugurated a series of popular Sunday night lectures in the Olympic Theatre of that city for newsboys and others. In California he delivered many lectures on educational subjects, and this lecture work was continued after his removal to the East.

In addition to the books above mentioned, he has published "Birds," "Mammals," and "Geografia Para Cuba."

His one published novel, "Parson Brooks: a Plumb Powerful Hardshell," is a pastoral of life in the Ozarks. The scene of action centers around the Monteith farm at Iron Mountain. All of the characters were drawn from the local people except "Long Jim," whose type was found at Glenwood on the Iron Mountain Railroad. The original of "Parson Brooks" was Campbell Sizemore who lived in the cabin nearby at the end of the lane. "Parson Brooks" is the best

character study yet made of the native, and the manners and customs and the mode of thought of himself and his people are faithfully and sympathetically depicted. His sermon on pages 62-69 is inimitable, and yet it is just such as the writer himself has often heard in that region. It has been frequently used in public readings with telling effect. The dialect of the characters of this book is the true southern dialect, and the author not only knew it perfectly, but he also knew how to spell it. His remarks regarding it on page 71 show his understanding of it and its idioms.

"Parson Brooks" is our best Missouri dialect story.

## PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DISTIN-GUISHED MISSOURIANS—FRANK. P. BLAIR

BY DANIEL M. GRISSOM

### NINTH ARTICLE

FRANK P. BLAIR

It was in the spring of 1851 that I first saw this man, and his attitude at the moment, although it did not occur to me then, may be taken as a promise and prophecy of what he was to be in the future, -a recognized leader of men. He was standing in the street near the St. Louis City Hall, then on the south side of Chestnut, between Main and Second. The Missouri Republican office was just opposite, and these two buildings, the newspaper office and the City Hall, together with the post office which was two squares above on Chestnut made that street and that particular section of it a favorite centre where prominent citizens were accustomed to gather and stop to talk about public matters. Nearly all the lawyers' offices were in upstairs rooms on Chestnut and Pine streets between Main and Fourth, and as every lawyer in the city was accustomed to pass through this section of Chestnut, at least once a day, it was a common thing to see groups of men gathered on the sidewalk or in the street discussing the news of the day.

In company with a friend, who was well acquainted with the public men of St. Louis, I was passing along the street, when my companion directed my attention to one of these groups and particularly to a tall, good-looking man standing in the midst, who was doing most of the talking while the others were listening. He wore a drab colored "plug" hat and what was in those days called a frock coat, and had a sort of easy swagger of carriage that well became him. "That is Frank Blair," said my companion, "a prominent Benton Democrat politician." The group around him was an ac-

cidental and informal one, talking, apparently, about nothing important, and Blair was speaking in the easy, quiet manner which was his habit all through life, and on all occasions, whether in his own family circle, or discussing exciting questions with friends or enemies. He was not more the recognized leader of that little group of personal friends on Chestnut street, St. Louis, than he was leader of a great party in the tremendous tumult and disorder all over Missouri ten years later.

The record of his public service begins with his enlistment in the army of General Kearney in 1846 for the Mexican war. Six years after, he was chosen to the lower house of the Missouri legislature in which he served two terms, or four years. In 1856, he was elected to Congress, and in 1860 he was again elected, and served through the Thirty-seventh Congress. In 1861 he entered the Union army and served under Sherman, in Mississippi and Georgia chiefly, to the end of the war. In 1870 he was elected again to the Missouri legislature, and the following year was chosen to the United States Senate, where he served till March 4, 1873. This closed his public career—ten years in the State and National councils and five years in the Federal army. Two years after his retirement from the Senate he died July 9, 1875, in the 55th year of his age.

## LITTLE VISITS WITH LITERARY MISSOURIANS-AUGUSTUS THOMAS

#### BY CATHARINE CRANMER

#### AUGUSTUS THOMAS

A brief note from Mr. Thomas acknowledged the State Historical Society's request for an interview and suggested that I telephone for an appointment. Then followed this paragraph:

"But all that I can tell you is in a published book called The Print of My Remembrance. This is an autobiography including all that I remember from the time of my birth to a period when in most minds I passed out of the list of living writers."

Although this autobiography does present in much detail the remarkably interesting career of Augustus Thomas as newspaper man and playwright, it only heightened interest in its author and made me the more anxious to put to him certain questions suggested by it.

But as executive officer of the Producing Managers Association, Mr. Thomas is a very busy man and it was several days before I was able to get an appointment. In the meantime he had been to Albany to appear before the Legislature to say a word against a so-called "clean book bill" and

had been to Washington on a brief business trip.

His offices are in the midst of the theatrical district, several of the season's big successes being within a block of it. Yet once within the doorway, and Broadway might be a hundred miles away for all there is to suggest it. The offices occupy the main floor of an old residence with its floor plan unchanged from the "double-parlor, hall and dining room" arrangement once so usual in the well-to-do residence. Dull blue rugs and mahogany office furniture help it to retain something of its former character.

The "hall" is now the office of the young woman who answers telephone calls, announces visitors, and does stenography. The "front parlor" is the office of the secretary of the Association, the "back parlor" is apparently a directors' room where one imagines the ups and downs of equity grievances and possible theatrical strikes are threshed out around the long table. And in this room is also the desk of the charming young man who acts as secretary to Mr. Thomas.

The room I had sized up as having once been the dining room, across a tiny hall to the left of the back parlor, is the private office of Mr. Thomas. And is to be entered by the visitor only after due preliminaries have been carried out by

the soft-voiced and capable young secretary.

When I was ushered into this room I was impressed by the dignified setting it made for the dignified man sitting at a large flat-top desk in the center of the room. Mr. Thomas is a handsome man, tall, broadshouldered, a little stout but very straight, with a ruddy complexion and faultlessly groomed appearance which suggest a man many years younger than his autobiography reveals his age to be.

His voice is rich but very subdued in tone, and his manner more that of the formal "old school" than one often encounters in this hurrying age. I was a little disappointed that he seemed to feel it necessary to maintain this beautiful but slightly forbidding (to me) dignity. It made the haphazard questions I wanted to ask seem crude and blunt and sadly lacking in the technique which befits such a setting.

I have since been told by a newspaper man that Augustus Thomas is the most finished after-dinner speaker he ever listened to. And as he rose to greet me his dignity was every whit as formal as if he were about to say: "Mr. Toastmaster." But I must not convey any impression of pose or snobbishness, for that is not at all what I mean. Mr. Thomas was graciousness itself, and the second time I saw him I was prepared for the courtly manner and was less awed by it.

For on this first visit he was able to give me only a scant five minutes of his time. And being uncertain whether he would have more time to give me soon, suggested that I give to his secretary an outline of the information I wanted so that a later interview might be more easily managed. This done, I awaited his convenience for the second visit. Before reporting that I will indicate the general direction of the path taken by Augustus Thomas in going from his birthplace in north St. Louis to the imposing executive offices of the Producing Managers' Association.

He was born January 8, 1857, in St. Louis, on North Tenth Street. As a small boy on an errand to the grocer's he heard the news of Lincoln's assassination and ran home to tell the news. The grief it caused in their family was intensified because John Wilkes Booth had been a friend and theatrical associate of Gus Thomas' father in New Orleans.

His father was also a close friend of Francis P. Blair, and although the Thomas family was staunchly Republican, it was through Blair's influence that Augustus, at the age of 11, was appointed a page in the Missouri Legislature. And at 13 he was appointed page in the House of Representatives in Congress. In this exciting session of reconstruction days he heard the debates carried on by such men as Clark Ingersoll, General Butler, Proctor Knott, John A. Logan, James G. Blaine, Erastus Wells, and James A. Garfield.

As a boy, Gus Thomas was fond of memorizing selections from the McGuffey readers, ranging from Shakespeare to Patrick Henry and Webster, and, as he says "such sonorous stuff as Macaulay's and such gentleness as Whittier's." One indelible scene of his grammar school days was a presentation card publicly given for his recitation of "Marco Bozzaris."

In the early seventies Thomas became interested in printing. With another North St. Louis boy he got out several copies of a little magazine called *Scratches and Sketches*. It was filled with short stories and verses by the other boy, Harlow, and "alleged" etchings by Thomas. But it died an early death for lack of financial support.

At seventeen Thomas became a friend of Frederick Ruckstull, afterwards a famous sculptor. Both were interested in dramatics and debating societies and they went together to the old Olympic Theatre to see some of the best plays that came. They organized the Marion Place Dramatic

Society which presented Augustus Thomas's first play, "Alone."

His first connection with the theatre was a position in the box office at Pope's Theatre in St. Louis. George McManus, father of the creator of "Bringing up Father," was one of his associates there. From this position he went to join the Vokes Company as an actor, but later returned to St. Louis to join a company being formed there, The Dickson Sketch Club. Thomas collaborated with Edgar Smith in a two-act play, "Combustion," which was produced by the Club. And he wrote "Editha's Burglar," a one-act play, to complete the full evening's program. The company then went on tour to Mexico, Missouri, Muscatine, Iowa, and various other cities along the route to Minneapolis, extending their acquaintance among newspaper men in Detroit, Chicago and Milwaukee. A second season they followed the same route and extended it into Canada.

At twenty-eight Thomas returned to St. Louis from a southern tour and went to work as a reporter on the *Post-Dispatch*. The following year he ventured into the publishing business in Kansas City but gave that up and took work as artist on the *Kansas City News*. Later he returned to St. Louis where he was employed as chief artist on the *Missouri Republican* which about that time (1888) changed its name to *The Republic*.

In the fall of 1888 Mr. Thomas went to New York as correspondent accompanying the tour of the St. Louis Baseball Club, and arriving in New York found that he "had bridged the gap between journalism and management." Summing up his experiences in the theatre to that point, Mr. Thomas in his autobiography says:

"I was thirty-one years of age and had had an intimate acquaintance and relationship with the theatre nearly all my life. I had played many years as an amateur, three or four years as the occasional member of a repertoire company in the legitimate, and had more than a year of consecutive traveling with a company in which I had an interest. I had produced four plays that I had written, had had two years in a box office, and had shared for a few full minutes the lease of

a theatre, while never losing sight of dramatic authorship as objective."

And it was with the equipment provided him by these experiences in his Missouri environment that Augustus Thomas worked his way into prominence on Broadway, the theatrical Mecca.

When I called the second time on Mr. Thomas, I began by asking him whether Missouri means anything very definite

to him in retrospect.

"Self-reliance, and sturdiness. And a kind of wholesome simplicity. But, you know," he added, "I've never really been out of touch with Missouri, for my parents lived there all their lives. My father died in 1911 and my mother in 1915. My brother and a sister still live in St. Louis."

He spoke regretfully of the passing of the old life of the River, of the loss to this age of the ideal and leisurely mode of travel enjoyed when steamboating was at its height.

"Did the writings of Mark Twain have any particular

influence on you?" I asked.

"Not that I can recall," he said. "I knew Mark Twain well. I first met him in Washington when I was twelve years old. He was received there as a distinguished visitor to the House of Representatives. And I knew him rather intimately years afterward in New York. He was one of the first members of the Institute of Arts and Letters, organized in 1898."

"Did your association with William Marion Reedy as a fellow reporter have any special interest or importance in

your own career?" I asked.

"No, except that we were very good friends. Called each other by our first names, and used to go together to many places of amusement, and demoralization." He added, though, with a smile: "Of course, our newspapers frequently sent us to such places on assignment."

"Do you see in Missouri history any big sources of

dramatic material as yet unused?"

"Yes; all the pre-war (Civil) period."

"Is there at present any eagerness among managers for plays by American authors?"

"Oh, yes."

"For any specific type of American play?"

"Comedy."

"Among your own plays, will you suggest those which a student of the drama would find most helpful in his study of plot, characterization, local color, and comedy situation?"

"For plot, 'Arizona;' characterization, 'Alabama;' local color, 'In Mizzoura;' comedy situation, 'The Earl of Pawtucket.' And I should name 'Arizona' as the most fully

articulated play of the lot."

"Your preface to 'Mrs. Leffingwell's Boots' describes this play as 'salvage,'" said I. "But its separate 'salvaged' elements were welded into unity by your trained sense of dramatic values and structural form. Do you advise the young playwright to store in his mind incidents and characters to be fitted into situations later?"

"Yes. People who write successfully are those who have slowly grown into it. Authorship must be a growth."

"Do you think first attempts are more successful when only a single dramatic situation of a one-act play is handled?"

"Usually, yes."

"Does your experience with 'The Burglar' indicate that the writing of one-act plays furnishes good training for fulllength ones?"

"Yes. The one-act play is really the first exercise in playwriting."

"Do you consider acting in amateur productions, or in the semi-professional work of little theatres, practical enough

to have real value for the aspiring playwright?"

"Yes, indeed. Wherever there is a flock of 'barns' they ought to get together and produce plays. It is rather unkind to burden the little theatre with a mission, with the pressure of an objective. But the producing of drama is so educational, and it's almost the only social art young people can practice without immediate expense."

Referring to the unusual number of good plays current in New York, I asked if he did not think interest in the drama greater than for many years. He seemed to agree with me.

"There is certainly more interest in the printed play than ever before," he said. "The reason plays are read more now is that the traveling company has departed, and people away from the producing centers do not have an opportunity to see plays."

"Have you," I asked in leaving, "any special word for

Missouri?"

"Oh," he said, smiling, "I'm perfectly willing to have it stay on the map. And I've kept in touch with Missourians here in New York. I was the first president of the Missouri Society here, about twenty-five years ago. My brother-inlaw, Bainbridge Colby, is its president now."

"Tell me about Columbia," he added. "It's been nearly forty years since I was there. Do they still reach it by that branch road from Centralia? It was a pretty town in those

davs."

I assured him that Columbia is a beautiful town today and we talked of Boone and Pike counties and of the use he made of the latter in "In Mizzoura." When I left he accompanied me into the next room where he asked his secretary to have his publishers send me a copy of "In Mizzoura."

The preface to this play explains in detail the gathering and development of the material for it. A famous train robber, a Bowling Green blacksmith, and other real Missouri characters were fitted into a real Missouri setting. In describing the blacksmith, Mr. Thomas says: "It was fine to hear him pronounce the state name *Mizzoura*, as it was originally spelt on many territorial charts, and as we were permitted to call it in the public schools until we reached the grades where imported culture ruled."

No fewer than sixty-one plays written by Augustus Thomas were produced from the time "Alone" was given in 1875 until in 1921 when "Nemesis" was produced in New York. "The Witching Hour" and "The Harvest Moon" were two of his later plays having great popularity. But one of the most famous of all his plays is "In Mizzoura," in which Nat Goodwin starred in his prime. It was first produced in Chicago in 1893.

# THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN MISSOURI

BY THOMAS S. BARCLAY

### CHAPTER V

SIGNS OF CHANGE

"The whole contest over the senatorship is a war upon me. It will place in the Senate one who represents a body of men hostile to me; antagonistic to my views and principles."

Charles W. Drake.

"At the caucus of the Republican members of the Legislature, I was nominated for the senatorship on the first ballot. My election by the Legislature followed in due course. No political victory was ever more cleanly won. Absolutely unincumbered by any promise of patronage or other favor, I took my seat in the Senate of the United States."

Carl Schurz.

"I note the development of a movement within the Republican Party looking towards a modification of the disfranchisement laws; and this movement is likely to grow into great importance in the politics of the State."

Correspondent, New York Times.

The Radical success in the election of 1868 seemed to indicate that the party had maintained its solidarity and its internal harmony. The candidacy of Grant solidified the Radicals of Missouri upon national issues and placed somewhat in the background questions of state policy. The engrossing labors of the campaign had provided few propitious occasions for a discussion of future party policy and neither the organization nor the average supporter of Radicalism cared to endanger party success by uncertain or unpopular suggestions. The discouraged Democrats, regarding the test oath and registration as sinister survivals of a ruthless partizanship, seemed destined indefinitely to remain a party of ineffective opposition. Nevertheless, the state was prosperous, population was increasing rapidly due to immigration, railroad construction was well under way, mining, as a new industry, was assuming a prominent position. If material prosperity tends to lessen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Annual Cyclopedia, 1868, pp. 519-20; 1869, pp. 463-64.

political discontent, the Radicals had little to fear. Many regarded with serenity the approaching session of the Legislature, firm in the belief that Radicalism was secure for at least four more years. Two problems of importance, however, confronted the Radicals, the selection of a successor to John B. Henderson and the formation of a new policy concerning

the suffrage.

First among the conditions that revealed a new trend of things was the senatorial election. Henderson, a man of ability and character, had aroused the hostility of his party by his vote for the acquittal of Andrew Johnson, while his advocacy during the campaign of 1868 of the repeal of the test oath and the registry law had strengthened materially Radical distrust of him. Although Henderson had many friends, some with political power, he had lost the directing influence of the party organization and the control of the patronage. His prospects for re-election were decidedly remote, although not so hopeless as his enemies thought.

Chief among the other candidates for the office were Benjamin F. Loan, Governor Fletcher, and Carl Schurz. Loan was a well known politician and lawyer of St. Joseph. Prior to 1860 he had been a Whig, and during the years 1861-65 had advanced from a somewhat wavering position to one of intense Radicalism.<sup>2</sup> He had served three terms in Congress during and after the war. There he was a devoted follower of the Radical group and an unfailing supporter of Con-

gressional reconstruction.

Loan was a man of mediocre political capacity and of no considerable personal popularity. He represented a section of the state which was anxious for recognition, and it was early apparent that he would receive the support of Drake and of the majority of the Congressional delegation. Drake desired to be recognized as the authority who dictated policy and controlled the federal patronage, and he saw in Loan a colleague willing to follow his leadership and to acquiesce in his decisions.<sup>3</sup> Announcement of Loan's candidacy was received everywhere with tepid enthusiasm and the earlier stages of his campaign lagged in a most spiritless fashion. Many intelligent Radicals, impressed with the intellectual mediocrity and narrowness of McClurg and the state administration, felt that the election of Loan, whom they detested, would not only reflect little credit on the party but would actually weaken it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>Enclyclopedia, History of Missouri, vol. IV, pp. 98-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Schurz, Reminiscences, vol. III, pp. 203-4.

<sup>\*</sup>Rise and Progress of the Liberal Party, in New York Times, April 24, 1872.

Fletcher was in no sense an avowed candidate for the senatorship but he had some support during the early months of the campaign from those who preferred him to Loan. Fletcher had no particular desire to remain in public life but would hardly have refused election, although he was decidedly adverse to entering a contest for the nomination. His skeptical and non-committal attitude was effective in preventing any organized effort or discernible co-operation in his behalf. By the summer of 1868 it appeared that Loan would have little opposition.

The sanguine hopes of the Drake and Loan element were abruptly terminated shortly after the November election. During the campaign, Schurz had rendered valiant service to the party, and in a series of tours had become well and favorably known throughout Missouri. His speeches were admirable examples of popular oratory and had great influence in keeping intact the large German vote. Radicals began to contrast Schurz with Loan, and there was a general undercurrent of opinion in political circles that he had brought to the party intellectual and political attainments of high order.

The first mention of Schurz as a possible candidate for the senatorship was made in an entirely informal way during the campaign. A prominent Radical editor in the northern part of the state favorably suggested him as Henderson's successor, but there was no definite attempt to advance his candidacy until later.<sup>5</sup> Shortly after the election, however, when it seemed that Loan's election by the Legislature was an assured fact, his supporters received a terrifying shock by the announcement that Schurz had become a candidate and would receive formidable and aggressive support.

The impelling forces behind the Schurz candidacy came from St. Louis. In that city Drake had never been popular with the leaders of his own party and they could not regard with equanimity the selection of Loan as his colleague. Several of these men met each week to discuss politics and current events; the organization was called the Twentieth Century Club, a title which suggested progressiveness. It was nominally social, but actually political, in character.<sup>6</sup> The membership was small, probably not over twelve, with Schurz one of the leading spirits and usually the chairman of the meetings.<sup>7</sup> Among the members were Grosvenor, the editor of the

<sup>\*</sup>LaGrange American, July 30, 1868, also Sentinel, Sept. 4, 1868. Drake later declared that during his canvass of northern Missouri during September and October he became acutely aware of the Schurz candidacy. Democrat, Jan. 13, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Encyclopedia, History of St. Louis, vol. IV, p. 2323. <sup>7</sup>W. B. Stevens, St. Louis, the Fourth City, vol. II, p. 589.

Democrat, Preetorious, the owner of the Westliche Post, the leading German Republican paper in the west, B. Gratz Brown, and several others who helped to shape Radical policy in Missouri.

Soon after the election of 1868, the club, which met on each Saturday for dinner, had under consideration the impending senatorial election. "We were all agreed," wrote Schurz, "in heartily disliking Mr. Drake's kind of statesmanship. We likewise disliked the prospect of seeing Mr. Drake duplicated..... by the election of Mr. Loan. We all recognized, regretfully, the absolute impossibility of getting the Legislature to re-elect Mr. Henderson." At one of the November meetings of the coterie, the suggestion was made that Schurz enter the contest; it was received with enthusiasm. The suggestion seems to have surprised Schurz and he was at first somewhat hesitant. It was finally determined, however, that Grosvenor, through the columns of the *Democrat* and by his personal influence, should promote the Schurz candidacy; to this policy Schurz assented.

The entrance of Schurz into the campaign revived the waning interest and an animated discussion commenced in the newspapers and among party workers. The responses were strikingly favorable and aroused amazement and foreboding among the Loan element. Drake and his followers realized fully the significance of these manifestations of public opinion and began to organize a counterattack against the

It was evident several weeks before the convening of the Legislature that Schurz would receive widespread support.

Editors and politicians who controlled many of the leading Radical papers suddenly perceived in Schurz a person eminently qualified to represent the State in the Senate. Certain supporters of Loan abandoned with alacrity his cause, and adopted a cautiously neutral attitude. Officials of the state administration who opposed Loan rendered valuable assistance to his opponent.<sup>12</sup>

Under the skillful guidance of those St. Louis Radicals who had under their direction the management of Schurz's campaign, his virtues and fitness for the position were widely

opposition.

13Statesman, Dec. 18, 1868.

Reminiscences, vol. III, p. 295.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$  I was by no means eager to expose myself to what I considered almost certain defeat," ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>The campaign was formally launched in the *Democrat*, Dec. 8, 1869.
<sup>11</sup>It appears evident that a few weeks before, a conference between H. T.
Blow, Grosvenor, McKee, and Fishback was held, at which there had been an agreement to support Schurz for senator. New York Times, April 24, 1872.

heralded.<sup>13</sup> In those sections of Missouri where traditional Radicalism still flourished, Schurz displayed a strength which astonished his supporters. In the west and southwest influential newspapers espoused his cause, while newly elected members of the Legislature were announced as his friends.<sup>14</sup> The fact that Schurz lived in St. Louis, although objectionable to many, was more than offset by other considerations.<sup>15</sup> All testified alike to his oratorical ability, his services to the party, his progressive ideas, his national prominence.<sup>16</sup> The movement for Schurz was likewise manifest both in the north central<sup>17</sup> and northern portions of the state.<sup>18</sup> In St. Joseph there was an active opposition to Loan, perhaps more persistent than elsewhere.<sup>19</sup>

While the endorsements of the press and of numerous Radicals did not in themselves insure Schurz's election, they indicated that he was probably the strongest candidate. The efforts to pledge members of the Legislature to support Schurz were not, however, very successful. Although a large-number expressed their disposition to support him, not more than a dozen were definitely committed before the Legislature convened.<sup>20</sup> "There is no longer any doubt," wrote a competent Democratic observer, "but that a strong combination has been formed, originating in St. Louis but having its ramifications all over the State, to tomahawk Loan."<sup>21</sup>

The extraordinary development of the Schurz candidacy revealed clearly to Drake that Loan was in peril. The realization of this fact stimulated Loan's followers to redouble their efforts in his behalf. Their plan of campaign took the form chiefly of a vitriolic attack upon Schurz, his previous career, his moral character, his nationality, his views and opinions.<sup>32</sup> There was a feeling, also, that St. Louis was not entitled to another senator.<sup>33</sup> In their endeavors thoroughly to discredit Schurz, his opponents gave a somewhat distorted and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>See, for examples, the issues of the Democrat, Dec. 1868.

<sup>14</sup>Springfield Patriot, Nov. 19, 1868.

ASpringfield Gazette, Nov. 18, 1868; Warsaw Times, Nov. 19, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Ibid., also Bates Record, Osceola Herald, Versailles Banner, Kansas City Advertiser, in Democrat, Dec. 8, 13, 21, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Hannibal Courier, Union Appeal, Marshall Banner, Linneus Missourian, Mexico Messenger, in Democrat, Dec. 8, 19, 28, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>American, Nov. 27, Dec. 4, 11, 1868; Memphis Reveille, Dec. 10, 1868; Border Times, Atchison Journal, Cameron Observer, in Democrat, Dec. 8, 21, 28, 1868.

<sup>19</sup> Herald, Dec. 16, 23, 1868.

<sup>10</sup> Democrat, Jan. 20, 1868.

<sup>11</sup>Republican, Dec. 4, 1868.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Reminiscences, vol. III, p. 296; Herald, Dec. 23, 1868.

<sup>34</sup> Herald, Nov. 11, 1868; Excelsior, Jan. 9, 1869.



CARL SCHURZ



partisan analysis of his attitude on pending issues.24 He was accused of favoring the immediate enfranchisement of the whites in opposition to the will of the party,25 and of being responsible for the defeat of the negro suffrage amendment in the election of 1868.26 "It was the ability to talk that sent Gratz Brown to the Senate," declared a Radical journal; "and Carl Schurz is another of the same type."27 The adherents of Schurz, led by the capable Grosvenor, were quick to resent these charges and much acrimonious discussion followed.

The developments in the contest between Loan and Schurz were cheering indeed to Henderson and his friends. It was reported that the Henderson element and the Democrats might combine forces and thus control the situation.28 Failing in that, Henderson had other sources of strength which might secure his re-election. In case of an immovable deadlock between Schurz and Loan, he might emerge as a successful compromise candidate. "Loan's friends will go for me if Loan cannot succeed," he wrote, "and a majority of Schurz's friends are for me in preference to Loan. I think I hold the balance of power between them, and if the caucus is broken, I know I hold it in joint session."29 Another factor favorable to Henderson was the friendship of Grant. It was believed by some observers that this could be translated into a definite support,30 and the Senator himself was optimistic enough to think that Grant would assert in some positive manner his preference for Henderson<sup>31</sup>. The president-elect was apparently in agreement with Henderson's more liberal ideas concerning enfranchisement and amnesty,32 ideas which stood in striking contrast with the provisions of the enforcement acts of his first term.

When the Legislature met, the campaign already had attracted considerable attention throughout the country.33 Schurz's candidature was favorably received by many in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>His chief opponent among the press was the St. Joseph Union.

<sup>\*</sup>Lebanon Chronicle, in Democrat. Dec. 8, 1868. "He proposes to put a ciub in the hands of the rebels and hand over to them the reins of government," Union, in ibid., Dec. 23, 1868.

<sup>36.</sup> D. Orme to Grosvenor, Carthage, Dec. 16, 1868, Schurz Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Brookfield Gazette, in ibid., Dec. 21, 1868.

<sup>28</sup> Herald, Nov. 24, 1868.

<sup>29</sup> Henderson to Rollins, Washington, Dec. 24, 1868, Rollins Papers. Orme informed Grosvenor that the Loan element would bolt rather than permit Schurz's election, Dec. 16, 1868, Grosvenor Papers.

<sup>30</sup> Republican, Dec. 19, 1868; Herald, Jan. 7, 1869.

<sup>31&</sup>quot;The feeling here is in my favor. Grant is favorable to my re-election," Henderson to Rollins, Dec. 24, 1868, Rollins Papers. 32 Thid

<sup>&</sup>quot;Democrat, Dec. 27, 29, 1868.

east.<sup>24</sup> A definite but unsuccessful attempt was made to secure Grant's support for Schurz. E. B. Washburne assured him, however, that the new administration was friendly and appreciative of the support rendered by Schurz in the election of 1868 among the German element.<sup>25</sup>

Immediately upon the convening of the 25th General Assembly, the senatorial contest became the center of a party controversy to which all other issues were entirely subordinate. Loan was at the capital, but his inability to cope with the opposition was pathetically obvious so the campaign was under the thorough control of Drake who came from Washington. Henderson directed in person his fortunes, while the alert and energetic Grosvenor managed the contest for Schurz, although the latter was also present. The ramifications of the contest were seen in every phase of the work of the Legislature. Both the Drake and the Schurz managers presented to each aspirant for House and Senate positions a political catechism.<sup>36</sup> The struggle opened auspiciously for the Schurz forces by the selection of their candidate for Speaker, J. C. Orrick, and other officials favorable to his cause.<sup>37</sup>

From the beginning, the tactics of Schurz and Grosvenor were immeasurably superior to those of Drake and Loan. The latter made reckless accusations against Schurz and denounced him "as a foreign intruder, as a professional revolutionist, as a German infidel, as an habitual drunkard," and as a carpet-bagger.<sup>38</sup> The Fundamentalists of that earlier day in the Legislature were assured by the orthodox Drake that the defeat of Schurz by Loan would represent the defeat of wickedness and infidelity by sancitity and religious devotion.<sup>39</sup> In personal interviews with many legislators from the southwest and northwest Drake took the offensive and was quite successful in weakening his opponent's position. The result appeared decidedly uncertain,<sup>40</sup> and more of a fight against Schurz than one for Loan.

In spirit and in policy, the Schurz campaign stood in

<sup>&</sup>quot;J. R. Hawley to Schurz, Hartford, Dec. 30, 1868, Schurz Papers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>E. B. Washburne to Schurz, Dec. 29, 1868, ibid. Others thought Grant was hostile toward Schurz because of his war record. "The president-elect is not profoundly versed in German philosophy. He would probably spell Kant with a C, and if asked about Hegel would say that he knew a fellow of that name in St. Louis or California or the army as the case may be," Dispatch, Dec. 31, 1868.

Merald, Jan. 7, 1869.

<sup>87</sup> Encyclopedia, History of Missouri, vol. V, p. 172.

<sup>88</sup>Schurz, op. cit., vol. III, p. 296.

<sup>39</sup> Herald, Jan. 17, 1869.

<sup>60</sup> Democrat, Jan. 20, 1869; Excelsior, Jan. 1, 1869.

suggestive contrast. Grosvenor and other active friends.41 including some influential members of the Legislature, worked with temperate zeal. Charges against the religious infidelity of the "intruder" were firmly met and answered by a prominent St. Louis clergyman, A. C. George, who did much to convince the faithful that rigid religious tests should not be demanded.42 This appeal struck a responsive chord.

The other part of the plan of campaign was revealed during the first week of the session when neither side had a majority of the Radicals pledged to its cause. The supporters of Schurz in the Legislature, with his knowledge and approval, invited the candidates to address a caucus of Radicals in that body in order that complete explanation of their views could be ascertained. After some preliminary maneuvering between Schurz and Loan, the invitation was accepted;48 it was later decided that Drake, too, would be allowed to speak. Schurz charged the Loan group with misrepresenting his attitude toward enfranchisement, which met with a prompt denial from Loan. "Your friends assert," wrote Schurz, "that I, by immediately enfranchising those who are excluded from the suffrage for participation in the rebellion, intend to throw the State into the hands of the rebels...... I am not in favor of immediately enfranchising the rebels, and I cannot understand how you could construe my words in that way."45

The adoption of the plan of joint debate was of distinct advantage to Schurz. His captivating eloquence and impressive manner of speaking contrasted most favorably with any forensic abilities of his opponents. Friends and supporters of the candidates hurried to Jefferson City for the dialectic dual.46

Augmented by numerous interested observers, the caucus met on the first of the two consecutive evenings arranged for the debate.47 It had been agreed that Schurz should open with a speech on the first evening, followed by Drake and Loan the second, with Henderson likewise permitted briefly to address the caucus. Schurz was to close the discussion. His

41A. C. George to Schurz, Jan. 6, 1869, Schurz Papers.

"Loan to Schurz Jan. 7, 1869, Schurz Papers.

"Speeches, vol. I, pp. 473-74.

<sup>&</sup>quot;These included Stanard, McNeil, Pile, Blow, Clark, Muench, and Finkelnburg.

<sup>4</sup>For the correspondence, see Schurz, Speeches, vol. I, pp. 473-74; his Papers contain the letters of Loan, Jan. 7, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Meetings favorable to Schurz were held in many sections of the state, Democrat, Jan. 11, 13, 1869; Herald, Jan. 12, 14, 15, 1869.

<sup>47</sup>Three earlier and informal caucuses had been unable to agree on any candidate, Herald, Jan. 8, 1869; Republican, Jan. 9, 1869.

opening address was brief and moderate.<sup>48</sup> It consisted of a defense of his own record, a challenging criticism of Drake,<sup>49</sup> and an expression of his views concerning the enfranchisement both of whites and blacks. There was certainly nothing very unorthodox in the views he presented, and, excepting a few personal allusions about Drake, nothing specific to which

the high priests of Radicalism could object.

In regard to enfranchisement, Schurz gave a convincing restatement of his views. He demanded that negro suffrage be regarded as an act of justice and firmly secured before the enfranchisement of whites be considered. The only question is: How can we secure the franchise to the loyal colored people before the rebels can be enfranchised against our will and thus be enabled to use their suffrage against the negro. He pledged support to a suffrage amendment similar to the one defeated in 1868, and advocated, further, that negro suffrage he incorporated in the federal generativities.

frage be incorporated in the federal constitution.<sup>52</sup>

Concerning the problem of the enfranchisement of the whites, Schurz reiterated his complete agreement with the Radical national and state platforms of 1868.<sup>33</sup> The author of one of these declarations,<sup>54</sup> and the chief advocate before the state convention of the other, there was nothing unusual in his continued defense of the sentiments they expressed. "We favor," the national platform declared, "the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people," <sup>156</sup>

Loan's address the next evening was solemn and turgid. It consisted chiefly of an attack on his opponents and a laborious defense of his record. That the real contest lay between Schurz and Drake was very obvious; the caucus members and the numerous spectators were more interested in hearing

<sup>48</sup>Printed in full in Democrat, Jan. 11, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>quot;He seemed to imply that Drake was entirely responsible both for the failure of the Constitution of 1865 directly to provide for negro suffrage and for the difficulties in securing it later only by constitutional amendment. Such a charge was obviously unfair. The proponents of negro suffrage in 1865 among the Radicals were few indeed; its defeat in 1868 was due largely to Radical opposition. For Drake's explanation, see Democrat, Jan. 14, 1869.

<sup>60</sup> Democrat, Jan. 11, 1869.

<sup>\*</sup>ibid. The Radicals feared that the Supreme Court would declare unconstitutional the test oath for voters. The decision in the pending Blair case was, therefore, of great practical significance.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

salbid.

<sup>44</sup>Schurz, Reminiscences, vol. III, pp. 284-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 285. The state platform contained a very similar commitment, written by Fletcher, *Democrat*, Jan. 20, 1869.

Drake, the principal, than Loan, the second. Accordingly, the address of the latter was brief and insignificant. It might have been effective as an appeal to a border county Radical meeting in 1865; it was heard by many in 1869 with ill-concealed impatience.

Drake followed Loan in a speech so long that two sessions were devoted to it. It was delivered in a defiant manner,56 amid considerable disorder.<sup>57</sup> Egotism and obstinacy were most unattractively combined in Drake, and his speech gave striking testimony to those characteristics. The Schurz campaign impressed Drake chiefly as an organized attack upon his position and leadership.<sup>58</sup> A large portion of his time was occupied in an acrimonious denunciation of his political foes, while scarcely any mention was made of the unfortunate Loan. He charged that Schurz was the representative of a St. Louis clique whose party treason commenced at the Planters House conference in 1866.59 The senator also used the occasion as a means to attack his ancient enemies. the Germans. In a lengthy bill of particulars, that race was accused of defeating in St. Louis the constitution of 1865, of voting against Drake for senator in the Radical caucus in 1867, and of responsibility for the rejection in 1868 of negro suffrage.60 In view of the situation confronting him, Drake's tactics were almost incredible. These astonishing allegations were made to a caucus where the German vote was represented by fully one-third of the legislators present and where some thirty members, who held the balance of power, were Germans. Drake also made entirely clear his belief that control of the federal patronage had an important bearing in the shaping of forces in the contest.61 Certain supporters of Schurz had been in complete disagreement with the senator concerning appointments, and Drake was positive that they desired to humiliate him.62

A striking proportion of Drake's time and energy was devoted to the purely personal aspects of the contest. The issues of larger import received very scant treatment. He demanded the enfranchisement of the negroes before any con-

For full context, see Democrat, Jan. 14, 1869.

<sup>48</sup>churz, op. cit., p. 298.

<sup>58&</sup>quot;The whole contest . . . . is a war upon me. It will place in the Senate one who represents a body of men hostile to me; antagonistic to my views and principles," ibid.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Of the sixteen gentlemen who composed the meeting, nearly every one of them is now his friend."

<sup>61</sup> Ibid .: Republican, Jan. 14, 1869.

<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of the patronage, see supra, pp. 435-437.

sideration whatever was given to the disfranchised whites,63 but failed to recognize or to admit the obvious difficulties in such a procedure. While implying that he and Loan did not advocate perpetual disfranchisement of the former Confederates, his statements were so worded as strongly to suggest that they actually favored it.64 A melancholy picture was painted of the condition of the downtrodden Radicals of Kentucky and Maryland; the "loyal" men of Missouri were thus warned of "rebel" control.65

Schurz's brief but spirited reply ended the discussion.66 Ordinarily, he disliked political struggles that took the form of personal or purely partisan encounters but in this instance he turned to irony and ridicule in a ruthless review of Drake's political career which delighted his hearers.<sup>67</sup> He defended vigorously the large German element in the State, and closed with an impressive appeal for personal and party harmony.68

A secret Radical caucus convened immediately after Schurz finished. The total party strength in both houses was 115, and 114 were present at the meeting. 69 On the day previous, the Schurz managers had estimated his strength at 45, or 13 less than the number necessary to declare him the caucus nominee.70 Although confident that his speeches had restored his original strength of 56 votes, and positive that Loan would not be nominated, they feared a possible deadlock, and the ultimate selection of a compromise candidate.71 It was the plan of the Loan element to commit the caucus to a secret ballot rather than to a viva voce vote; on the assumption, apparently well founded, that some members would be willing secretly to support either Loan or Henderson.72 A motion providing for this was defeated by a tie vote, 57 to 57;78 while a counter proposal for an open vote was adopted 59 to 55.74 Another motion, which was approved, allowed in the caucus Radicals who were not members of the Legislature. A number of legislators had been instructed for Schurz, and

<sup>\*\*</sup>Democrat, Jan. 14, 1869.

<sup>41</sup>bid., Jan. 20, 1869.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., Jan. 14, 1869.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.; Schurz, op. cit., pp. 299-300.

<sup>65</sup> Henderson made a brief, witty, and conciliatory address during the course of the evening.

<sup>\*</sup>Republican, Jan. 14, 1869.

<sup>10</sup> Democrat, Jan. 20, 1869.

<sup>71</sup> Herald, Jan. 17, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Democrat, Jan. 20, 1869.

<sup>18</sup> Thid

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

Grosvenor was insistent that due publicity be given to their decisions and votes.

After these preliminary victories of the Schurz forces, a ballot was taken on the nominee for senator. Schurz received 59, a very scant majority of the entire number of Radicals, Loan 40, Benjamen 10, Dyer 2, Fyan 3.75 The nomination was thereupon made unanimous.76 Nor was there mention of the threatened bolt.<sup>77</sup> The supporters of Schurz represented chiefly the German rural strongholds, the central counties of the state, and a majority of the St. Louis districts. 78 Loan received strong backing from the south and southwest, while the representatives of the northern and northwestern tier of counties were almost unanimous for him. 79

The Democrats, hopelessly outnumbered, watched closely the contest among their rivals. Their sympathy was probably with Henderson and he would have been accepted as the lesser evil.80 Opinion concerning Schurz was somewhat divided, while Loan was unthinkable.81 A majority of Democrats opposed strongly any coalition with possible Henderson supporters and were anxious to let the Radicals fight out the issue without Democratic interference.82

The election, which occurred on January 19, was a formality. The complimentary Democratic vote went to J. S. Phelps, while Schurz received the unanimous support of his party.83 In a gracious acceptance speech before the joint session, Schurz interpreted his victory as "an evidence of the liberal and progressive spirit moving the people of Missouri."84 While no less positive than before of the justice and necessity of immediate negro suffrage,85 there was in his address a distinctly skillful and liberal appeal that the passions and resentments of the war be abandoned and forgotten.86

<sup>18</sup> Democrat, Jan. 20, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Republican, Jan. 14, 1869. It was claimed that Schurz would have received on the second ballot seven additional votes.

<sup>17</sup> Excelsior, Jan. 30, 1869.

<sup>78</sup> For a detailed analysis, see Democrat, Jan. 20, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Statesman, Jan. 8, 1869; Lincoln Herald, Jan. 14, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup>Schurz was characterized by the leading Democratic paper as "a fortunate, glib, and facile adventurer," Republican, Jan. 15, 1869. Some Democrats recognized him as the intellectual superior of the other Radical condidates and did not oppose his election, Dispatch, Dec. 8, 16, 1868.

Republican, Jan. 5, 6, 7, 1869; Dispatch, Jan. 6, 7, 1869; for opposing view see St. Louis Times, Jan. 8, 9, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>The Senate vote for Schurz was 25, the House, 89; for Phelps, 9 and 35. Senate Journal, 1869, p. 93; House Journal, 1869, p. 171.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Schurz, Speeches, vol. I, p. 474.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ibid., p. 476.

<sup>#</sup>Ibid., pp. 477-78.

The election of Schurz occasioned wide comment and much speculation as to the future of the Radical party. That Drake had suffered a humiliating personal defeat, if not a repudiation of his leadership, was known to all. He had returned to Washington before the election, and although conventional expressions of friendship had been exchanged, so the contest was of a character to create and perpetuate a reciprocal and unconcealed distrust. In two months Drake had seen his authority sharply challenged by the forces of opposition. His new colleague was but thirty-nine years of age; a resident of Missouri less than two years and ineligible for membership in the lower house of the State Legislature.

Other and more significant aspects of the Schurz election did not fail to impress reflecting observers. Drake's defeat was somewhat more than the mere humiliation of a party leader. The contest was also a struggle, without definite result, for the control of the party organization. The senior senator and his federal appointees could not regard with indifference the selection of a man who would insist on adhering without deviation to his own conceptions of public policy. While there was no fear that Schurz, assisted by his German allies, would attempt to turn the federal service into a machine for the promotion of his political ambitions, it was equally true that he would be positive and tenacious in preventing others from attempting such a course. This gave rise to a disquieting feeling that a compact and formidable state organization could not be maintained.

In its final and most important sense, the senatorial contest had far-reaching effects. It revealed a rising group of moderates among the Radicals who were loath to continue the policy of proscription and insistent that recognition be given to the newer economic and social problems. In Schurz, they found an able and sincere expounder of their views with the ability to consolidate and lead them. Fundamentally, Carl Schurz was both liberal and independent; to him party organization was a means rather than an end in itself. result of the election seems to have been recognized by many as a victory of liberalism, as well as a protest against the extremists.88 But the sedulously developed charge that Schurz and his followers favored immediate rebel enfranchisement was totally at variance with their real position. The precise conditions under which they probably would endorse it had been stated time and again. Equally absurd was the accusa-

87 Ibid., pp. 480-81.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Herald, Jan. 27, 1869; Lincoln Herald, Jan. 21, 1869; Statesman, Feb. 5, 1869; Republican, Jan. 15, 1869; Democrat, Jan. 20, 1869.

tion that they were engaged in a deliberate plot to transfer political control to the former Confederates.89 There was more truth in the observation of a Democratic editor that Schurz, in order to be elected, had been obliged to adopt some

of his opponent's ideas.90

When the excitement of the senatorial contest had subsided, the Legislature and the party organization generally were confronted with other issues of political significance. Although the question of enfranchisement already had been carried to a wearisome length, the discussion was characterized by dogmatism and prejudice, and inextricably involved in the strategy of rival candidates. There was now an opportunity frankly to face the problem relieved of extenuating considerations.

Immediately following the election in November, opinions concerning the proper attitude of the party toward enfranchisement appeared in bewildering profusion. The sentiments expressed at the Planters House conference were revived and strengthened. They were strenuously opposed by partisans of the existing regime who took no pains to disguise their complete disagreement with any policy which might threaten their continued supremacy. From this clash of conflicting opinion, there emerged certain pretty definite conclusions.

There was practical unanimity of agreement that the right of the negro to vote should be secured as soon as possible, preferably by an amendment to the State Constitution.91 The defeat of such a proposal in 1868 indicated that it would not be an easy task. Thousands of Radicals had refused to follow the dictates of the organization, while every Democrat felt that it had no real cause except their humiliation or the perpetuation of Radical power by negro votes. To justify it, there was some dogmatizing about the abstract right to vote, but its political purpose as an aid in the maintenance of Radical power was openly admitted.92

The difficulties concerning the introduction of negro suffrage were accentuated by the constitutional and political considerations affecting the disfranchised whites. The Constitution authorized the Legislature by an absolute majority

<sup>\*</sup>For example, St. Joseph Union, in Republican, Jan. 16, 1869. a Radical legislator, wrote: "A suspicion lies in the mind of nearly every man that Schurz's denial of the charge that he favored rebel suffrage was not from his heart," American, Feb. 19, 1869.

<sup>90</sup> Republican, Jan. 15, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>There was not much discussion in Missouri before 1869 of the Fifteenth Amendment, then under consideration at the last session of the fortieth Con-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Democrat, Nov. 24, 1868.

in each house to remove the disqualifications applicable to the suffrage after January 1, 1871. It was well recognized that if such action were taken, negro suffrage would be exceedingly remote. Any proposal admitting negroes to the franchise would then be confronted by the solid opposition of the Democrats and a considerable minority of the Radicals.

Faced by this distressing fact, the partisan Radicals decided that the best plan would be to continue to urge negro suffrage and to postpone for future consideration the enfranchisement of the whites. Many professed to believe that while justice required the permanent disfranchisement of the ex-Confederates the true Radical policy was magnanimous. The restrictions imposed upon the former rebels were to be removed so soon as "consistent with the safety of the loyal people," a conveniently vague phrase. Until that moment, the Drake element regarded agitation on the subject as bad form; for them the tentative and provisional policies of 1865 had already passed into settled usage.

Against this negative policy another element in the party was strongly protesting. They denied that disfranchisement was a thing eminently good in itself. They objected to the ambiguous and negative ideas of the other group, and were desirous of devising a practical solution which they hoped the majority would support. The leaders in this were Grosvenor and several influential members of the Legislature, including the speaker and the floor leaders. The leaders of the Legislature, including the speaker and the floor leaders.

The plan as developed after the election of 1868 contemplated the submission in 1870 of a constitutional amendment establishing a new basis of suffrage through the admission both of rebels and negroes. If adopted, its provisions were to take effect in 1872. The spirit of compromise was frankly evident in this arrangement; it was designed to unite the advocates of negro suffrage and the less violent opponents of white enfranchisement. The proponents argued that the admission of the negroes would bring to the party substantial support, which combined with present and future strength, would render secure the party's future. Under these circumstances it was felt that to admit to their former political rights the ex-Confederates was not only perfectly safe but

<sup>83</sup>Art. II, Sec. 25.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Excelsior, Nov. 14, 1868.

<sup>65</sup> Democrat, Nov. 7, 1868.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Encyclopedia, History of Missouri, vol. V, p. 172.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Democrat, Feb. 15, 1869. The early Democratic attitude was that the party should continue to oppose on principle negro suffrage, Republican, Nov. 18, 19, 1868.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Ibid., Feb. 1, 4, 1869.

eminently wise. Such a restoration would remove from the plane of partisan and party controversy all questions concerning the test oath and registration which the senatorial contest had shown were fraught with danger.99 This rational plan of the moderates was regarded by Radical partisans first with suspicion, then with open hostility. The coupling of negro and white enfranchisement was vehemently assailed as unwise and visionary.<sup>100</sup> Drake informed a faithful follower that the rebels were still unrepentant and any policy of general amnesty should not be considered.101

In his final message to the Legislature, Fletcher definitely attacked the oath of loyalty and took his position with the moderates. 102 He advocated the submission of a constitutional amendment admitting to the suffrage practically all classes disqualified under the Constitution. "The oath of loyalty," the decision in the Blair case would be against the Radicals, and was willing to make a virtue of necessity by a voluntary repeal.104 The demands for the rigid enforcement of the test oath he maintained were neither widespread nor insistent; equally significant was the fact that no conviction had been recorded for falsely taking the oath as a juror, as a candidate, or as a voter.106 The entire message gave strong evidence of the complete agreement between Fletcher and the rising liberals.

Four days later, the new governor formulated in his first message a series of proposals diametrically opposed to those announced by his predecessor.106 Indeed, the tone of the message was strikingly at variance with the newer sentiment. There was a tendency to reprimand the disfranchised whites for desiring to vote and gloomily to show their general depravity. McClurg's ideas concerning the suffrage question were presented in great detail and with some plausibility.107 He urged the resubmission in 1870 of the negro suffrage amend-

<sup>\*\*</sup>The unequal enforcement and absolute violation of the test oath and registry law were thoroughly exploited by the liberal element, ibid., Feb. 8,

<sup>100</sup>St. Joseph Union, Nov. 19, 1868; Louisiana Journal, Nov. 26, 1868. 101 Drake to E. G. Evans, Dec. 10, 1868, Republican, Dec. 16, 1868.

<sup>102</sup> Messages and Proclamations, vol. IV, pp. 138-44.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 141. "The rebel was disfranchised for safety and not for vengeance . . . . his silent appeal for the ballot . . . . is made to our best judgment of good policy." ibid., p. 142.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 377-406. 107 Ibid., pp. 395-406.

ment and talked in lofty fashion of the duty which Providence had laid upon the Radical party. <sup>108</sup> The proposal to combine in one amendment the complete removal of disqualifications for voting because of color and of disloyalty was strongly condemned. <sup>109</sup> In McClurg's opinion, those whom he characterized as "unrepentant rebels" did not deserve any consideration until long after the negro had been secured in his rights. Although he dilated at length on his adherence to "right," "justice," and the party platforms, McClurg's real view, when divested of its characteristic verbiage, was that it would be politically dangerous to the Radical party to enfranchise any considerable number of Democrats. <sup>110</sup>

McClurg likewise advanced the astonishing doctrine that the disfranchised whites, because of racial prejudice, would oppose as degrading an amendment admitting them simultaneously with the negroes.<sup>111</sup> Issues which centered about the enforcement of the Registry Law were to be solved by a further centralization of removals in its administration.<sup>112</sup>

After the senatorial contest had ended, the suffrage question came before the Legislature. Here the Radical majority proceeded cautiously to consider the various plans which had been proposed and to suggest their own. Those who had hoped that the decisive Schurz victory would consolidate the liberals on other issues were disappointed. Although Orrick and several other leaders endorsed the submission of the combination amendment, 113 the majority refused to consider it. 114

All amendments in the House were referred with due propriety to a special committee where they reposed peacefully until the end of the session. In the Senate, the same procedure was followed. With but one exception these proposals were introduced by Radicals, but personal interests and preferences yielded to the majority. Persistent attempts to amend in important particulars sections of the Registry Law

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>199&</sup>quot;The two propositions, one for loyal black suffrage, the other for disloyal white suffrage, are antipodes. They are like oil and water and cannot harmonize," blid., p. 399.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp. 401-04.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 398. For the Democratic attitude on this, see Republican, Nov. 19, 1868.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 394.

<sup>113</sup> Encyclopedia History of Missouri, vol. V, p. 172.

<sup>114&</sup>quot;The proposition has received the decided disapproval of the party throughout the State," Chillicothe Spectator, Feb. 10, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup>House Journal, 25th General Assembly, pp. 145, 148, 162, 199, 209, 211, 274.

<sup>116</sup> Senate Journal, 25th General Assembly, pp. 75, 95, 185.

met an early and similar fate. 117 Democratic efforts to revise the unpopular statute were futile.118

There was also considerable sentiment for the calling of a constitutional convention, which was manifest through the earlier weeks of the session.119 The project received more than perfunctory attention as a good many Radicals believed that it would be desirable to refer to a deliberative body questions of future policy.120 In the Legislature, however, all attempts to initiate the movement for a convention met with summary defeat<sup>121</sup> as the Radical caucus refused to approve any action in regard to a convention. 122 The entire influence of the state administration was in opposition to such a plan. 123 Two reasons actuated the Radicals. First, there would be held early in 1870 an adjourned, or second session of the Legislature, and the wisest policy urged a postponement of troublesome issues until that time. Second, there was distinct hope that Congress would rescue the party from its unfortunate predicament by proposing a constitutional amendment designed to secure negro suffrage against unfriendly state legislation. Nor were they disappointed, for on February 26, 1869, the Fifteenth Amendment was passed by Congress and transmitted to the states.124 Without waiting for any official notice from the secretary of state, the Radicals proceeded with unseemly haste to ratify the amendment, while McClurg added his superfluous approval.125 Those members of the Legislature who represented constituencies where negro suffrage was unpopular justified their vote on the theory that the nationalization of negro suffrage would remove its undesirable features and protect Missouri from negro colonization. 126 The Democratic opposition took the form of mingled contempt and concern.127 Three days later, the Assembly adjourned.

During the session there was a good deal of partisan feeling and hostile recrimination among both Radicals and Democrats concerning issues which originated in some phase of the enforcement and interpretation of the election and registration laws. The Democrats charged that the secretary of state

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., pp. 75, 112, 173, 284-85; House Journal, pp. 363, 393, 406, 484.

<sup>110</sup>Republican, Feb. 13, 1869.

<sup>119</sup> Herald, Jan. 28, 1869; Democrat, Jan. 27, 1869.

<sup>120</sup> Sedalia Times, St. Charles Cosmos, Macon Journal, Ironton Enterprise, in Democrat, Feb. 8, 1869.

<sup>121</sup> House Journal, pp. 345-46, 710.

<sup>122</sup> Democrat, Feb. 13, 1869.

<sup>123</sup> Annual Cyclopedia, 1869, p. 467.

<sup>134</sup> Dunning, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>125</sup> House Journal, pp. 605, 621; Senate Journal, pp. 432-33.

<sup>124</sup> Republican, March 3, 1869.

<sup>127</sup> Statesman, March 5, 1869.

had usurped his powers in a highly irregular and illegal manner; the Radical majority, however, defended and sustained his actions.

Under the law, the clerk of each county court gave to those county candidates having the largest number of votes a certificate of election, 128 and transmitted to the secretary of state an abstract of the votes cast for national and state officials.129 That official was required to open and to cast up the votes given for all candidates and to issue certificates of election to members of Congress. 130 He was also required to lay before the Legislature "a list of the members elected

thereto, agreeably to the returns in his office."181

When Rodman submitted the list of members he omitted the representatives of eight counties, and explained his action on the ground that there had been in these localities illegal registration and flagrant non-observance of the law.132 "There has been," he wrote the chairman of the committee on elections, "wanton disregard and violation of the registration law; a legal election can be based only on a legal registration."138 His course of action was based on an interpretation of the law by which the secretary was authorized to go behind the election returns and to reject those deemed to be fraudulent.134

Over this issue the Democratic minority precipitated a partisan strife which lasted for several weeks. Their contention was that Rodman had no authority to refuse to accept the returns precisely as they were certified to him by the local officials. This view was strongly reinforced by a unanimous decision of the Radical Supreme Court, which held that the secretary of state in opening and in counting the returns was performing a ministerial function as a canvassing officer; the determining of the legality of votes was held to be a judicial matter to be adjudged by a competent tribunal. 185 This doctrine was reaffirmed more strongly several weeks later, when the court characterized as usurpation the exercise of judicial functions by a ministerial officer. 136

<sup>120</sup> Statutes of Missouri, 1866, Chap. 2, sec. 25.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., sec. 29.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., sec. 32.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., sec. 35.

<sup>183</sup> The counties were Dunklin, Jackson, Monroe, Platte, Oregon, Ripley. Shannon, and Wayne. House Journal, pp. 4-6; Tribune, Jan. 8, 1869.

<sup>10</sup> Rodman to R. S. Moore, Jan. 18, 1869, Statesman, Feb. 12, 1869.

<sup>134</sup> Democrat, Jan. 22, 1869.

<sup>186</sup>State ex rel. Bland v. Rodman, (1869) 43 Missouri, 257. The case involved a judicial election in the State.

<sup>138</sup> Attorney-General v. Steers, (1869) 44 Missouri, 224. Both decisions are in accord with Mayo v. Freeland, (1847) 10 Missouri, 629, and St. Louis County v. Sparks, (1847), 10 Missouri, 117.

The extraordinary interpretation of Rodman was endorsed by the Radical majority in the Legislature and received, with few exceptions, the approval of the party press.<sup>187</sup> On evidence entirely of an ex parte character, 138 the Committee recommended<sup>139</sup> and the House adopted a report declaring that vacancies existed in seven counties and recommending that special elections be held.140 Despite the elaborate parliamentary maneuvering of the Democrats the Radical majority remained intact. In the matter of contested elections the precedents of party politics afforded guidance in the unseating of three Democrats while the traditional policy was abandoned in three other contests.141 The claims of two Radicals for positions in the Senate were duly rejected. 142

There was, indeed, very little evidence of serious disagreement among the Radicals in the Legislature, subsequent to the election of Schurz. Their nonchalant approval of the unprecedented action of the secretary of state was essentially a partisan approval.148 Rodman's real purpose in rejecting the votes of the eight counties was to defeat two Democratic candidates who had apparently won elections to Congress.144 His action, although no doubt illegal, was undeniably useful as a procedure in close contests.

The information disclosed in the election contests, state and congressional, provided abundant evidence of the notorious administration of the Registry Law and of the difficulties attendant upon uniform enforcement.145 While the Democrats were careful systematically to exploit the unscrupulous conduct of the Radical registration officials, the irregularities were by no means confined to the majority party.146 In addition to the sporadic cases of fraud and violence were other

141 House Journal, pp. 19, 20, 21, 106, 187, 229, 439, 443, 446, 513.

141 Senate Journal, pp. 72, 83, 99, 451.

146 Rowell, op. cit., House Journal, 1869, pp. 441-43, 46.

<sup>137</sup> Republican, Jan. 30, 1869.

<sup>138</sup> Statesman, Feb. 12, 1869.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., Feb. 19, 1869.

<sup>140</sup> House Journal, pp. 396-401. The representative from Platte was finally declared legally elected and seated.

<sup>143&</sup>quot;The strong rebel counties must be taught that perjury and violence are of no avail and that the registry law will be enforced to the letter." Jefferson City Times, Feb. 19, 1869.

<sup>144</sup>In the sixth district, the returns from Jackson and Platte were rejected and the certificate of election issued to R. T. Van Horn; in the ninth, the returns from Monroe were rejected and D. P. Dyer given the certificate, C. H. Rowell, Digest of Contested Election Cases, (Washington, 1901), pp. 250-52, 59.

<sup>145</sup> For a great mass of testimony, some of a vague and uncertain character, see House Misc. Documents, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 14, passim; ibid., No. 18, passim; Bartlett, Cases of Contested Elections, vol. I, pp. 777-810, 922-41.

evidences of lax and inefficient administration, which tended to discredit seriously the entire law.<sup>147</sup>

The adjournment of the Legislature was welcomed by men of all parties. Among the Radicals, it cannot be said that there was anything decisive in the contest between the moderates and the extremists. The former had been successful in the senatorial election; the latter in preventing any alteration of the course of policy which had guided the party in its attitude toward the suffrage problem. There was nothing whatever in the situation to justify the extravagant hopes of some of the Democrats that the Radical party in 1869 was in a state of disintegration. The election of Schurz had disclosed a factional division, but with the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment a troublesome problem was partially solved and some 16,000 made eligible to vote. Uning the last days of the session in the attack on the registration law the party had retained its unity and kept intact its majority.

It was the task and duty of the party leaders of whatever views to recognize the threatened cleavage and to formulate with care policies which would conciliate and harmonize existing or potential differences. "Sooner or later," wrote Grosvenor, "that policy must prevail which seeks to remove the distinctions created by a state of war, and justified by the necessities of war. We can wait. How long the party can afford to wait is a matter for it to decide." 149

For some ten months there was no very clear indication of what the party attitude, expressed or implied, was or would be. Radicals of all shades continued diligently to re-examine the suffrage question in its various and perplexing aspects. With the exception of several unimportant city elections, no political contests were held, and the press became the chief battleground of those of diverse views who entered without reluctance upon the task of molding and directing a party opinion favorable to their respective convictions.

There was also manifest during 1869 a distressing lack of unified leadership in both parties. Schurz and Drake were at Washington, and as hopelessly divided upon the Congressional policy of Reconstruction as upon the issues in Missouri. The Democratic party of the state was almost a reminiscence; after the disasters of 1868 there was discernible only the remnants of a party organization. Its spokesman,

<sup>\*</sup>i\*For example, fifty counties returned no "rejected list," five, no lists whatever, while no figures are available on the number of rejected applicants for registration, Annual Cyclopedia, 1869, p. 468.

<sup>144</sup> Census of 1868, Senate Journal, 1869, Appendix.

<sup>149</sup> Democrat, March 1, 1869.

apparently in full realization of the party's plight, watched with speculative hope the perceptible indications of disagreement among the Radicals, while continuing their futile protests against negro suffrage, test oath, and registration. They were united rather by their antagonism to the existing regime

than by a common interest and program.

The suffrage question was of chief significance to all, but there were other factors operative and somewhat interdependent. These included the Blair case, involving the constitutionality of the oath of loyalty for voters, and the control of the federal patronage. During the period between the regular and adjourned sessions of the Legislature no definite conclusions or solutions to any of these irritating questions were, or could be, reached. As a result, politics were confused, incapable, and ineffective. The trend was toward factionalism rather than unity.

In the development of the newer and more liberal policies, Grosvenor labored unceasingly to create within the party a sentiment broadly favorable to conciliation and to the removal of all disqualifications. 150 Schurz and a number of the most vigorous intellects and sagacious politicians of the organization lent effective support.<sup>151</sup> Despite the strong opposition of the extremists, Grosvenor and his followers grimly persisted to advocate their policies. The result was sharply to

intensify personal and political differences.

The formulation of a plan concerning the suffrage to which the different elements would agree was indeed a difficult task. Whether or not the rank and file of each faction would be willing later to accept such a plan with its necessary compromises and readjustments was no less perplexing. suffrage problem had two aspects, the legal and the political, while there were at least three, possibly four, classes among the Radicals, each with divergent views as to the proper attitude for the party to adopt.

So far as the enfranchisement of the negro was concerned, there was no deviation from the earlier Radical attitude that negro suffrage was necessary and proper, and should precede white enfranchisement. 152 The progress of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment was anxiously followed, in the hope that its early acceptance would settle definitely one trouble-

some issue.

<sup>186</sup> In the shaping of the political policy of the Democrat, Grosvenor was actively supported by the owners and proprietors of the paper, especially William McKee

<sup>151</sup> Notably, Blow, Preetorious, William Taussig, Johnson, and Finkelnburg. 153 Herald, August 5, 1869.

The legal removal of the irksome restrictions on the white race could be accomplished in any of three ways. Should the United States Supreme Court, in the pending Blair case, declare unconstitutional the test oath for voters the chief support of Missouri Radicalism would be removed; a concise fact upon which all Radicals commented with varying degrees of intensity. Secondly, the Constitution provided that after January 1, 1871, an absolute majority of each house of the Legislature might repeal the disqualifications for voters.154 Finally, the Legislature at its second session, in 1870, could propose a constitutional amendment which, if approved by the electorate in November, 1870, would abrogate all disfranchising clauses. In the event that either the second or third method was followed, a period of about two years would elapse before the full results of re-enfranchisement could be seen.155

Because of its political significance, the Radicals continued to demand that negro suffrage must be granted. If the whites were enfranchised first they would unquestionably use their power to deny to the negro the same privilege. It was of practical importance, therefore, that the Radicals be able to rely upon the negro vote to balance the additional Democratic opposition. Should the Fifteenth Amendment fail of ratification, it would be necessary again to submit a negro suffrage amendment to the state Constitution. 156 The rejection by a large majority of a similar proposal in 1868 indicated strong opposition to such a fundamental change. The defeat of the federal amendment and of a similar state amendment, together with a decision denving the constitutionality of the test oath for voters, would imperil the future of the Radical party; significant facts which filled with alarm party politicians of high and low degree.

Confronted by the problem of devising a solution for the suffrage question, Radical opinion divided into three classes, each with a separate policy; the liberals, the extremists, and a numerically large group with no definite name, which occupied a middle ground.

The liberal element, under the diligent leadership of Grosvenor, now sought to convince the party that the proper

<sup>153</sup> For a full discussion of this case, see Supra, pp. 434-436.

<sup>184</sup>Art, II, sec. 25.

<sup>156</sup>It was possible also that enfranchisement might result from the open disregard or non-enforcement over the state of the test oath and registry laws as in the case of the ciergy before 1867, St. Joseph Gazette, July 15, 1869. The evasions of the jurors' oath were patent, even in certain Radical sections, Republican, July 12, 1869.

<sup>140</sup> Democrat, June 5, 1869.

course would be the submission of a constitutional amendment establishing a new basis of universal suffrage and repealing all disqualifications.<sup>157</sup> The liberals were insistent that the proposal should receive the sanction and support of the Radical majority in the Legislature and of the party during the campaign of 1870. Should the Fifteenth Amendment have been ratified when the Legislature convened, they believed that no further or valid excuse for continuing the restrictions imposed upon whites would remain and the party could with conviction and political safety advocate their removal.158 "The old restrictions on the suffrage," declared a liberal journal in northwestern Missouri, "are now only desirable that a political party may be kept in power."159 while the test oath was characterized as "a great mistake chargeable to the Radical party."160

The persistence with which the liberals advocated the submission of a constitutional amendment was not based on unintelligent caprice. The removal of disqualifications by a majority vote of the Legislature would shift the issue to the various electoral districts, and in the contests for nomination and election there would be serious danger of a party split among Radical candidates who favored one policy or the other. 161 It was therefore essential that the party, in its state platform and by the utterances of its state leaders, pledge itself to a definite policy. Such a policy could best be realized by united Radical support of a constitutional amendment,162 with no recourse to Democratic assistance.163

The idea of combining in one amendment the principle of universal suffrage was the distinct contribution of Grosvenor, although it received the support of Schurz and of other "It must be clear to every unprejudiced observer," declared Schurz in an important commitment, "that the enfranchisement of the negro must mean the end of rebel disfranchisement. As soon as the rights of all other classes of citizens are secured, no argument will be subtle enough to

<sup>157</sup> Democrat, March 1, 1869. The amendment, if ratified, was to become effective in 1872.

<sup>153&</sup>quot; We believe that the loyal men of Missouri having imposed disabilities as a temporary measure of public safety and not of vindictiveness ought to determine when they are no longer needed," ibid., Nov. 23, 1869.

<sup>189</sup> Herald, May 28, 1869.

<sup>160</sup> Macon Argus, July 7, 1869.

<sup>161</sup> Democrat, June 1, 1869. "Radicals have the power to rule Missouri. We trust none of them will wait until the Democrats get ready to support them for the Legislature or for Congress," ibid., June 16, 1869.

<sup>163</sup> Herald, Aug. 5, 1869. 188" We do not care whether the Democrats understand our motives or like our course, or the contrary," Democrat, July 15, 1869.

prove, and no party organization strong enough to maintain, that these rights must still be denied to anyone." It was regarded by its advocates as a strategic compromise of an obviously difficult situation. The protagonists of the plan believed that it would receive the support of the liberals and a majority of the less extreme among the Radicals. They were agreed that the necessity for white disfranchisement "had nearly passed away," of and that the negro vote would balance the increased Democratic strength. In short, the liberals recognized that the war was over, refused to render obsequious veneration and deference to tradition, and insisted that the party devote its attention to the economic development of the state. 166

It was difficult prior to 1870 accurately to estimate the numerical strength of the liberals. In St. Louis, their influence was marked, while the preponderantly German localities also gave approval. There was scattering but important support in northern Missouri, 8 but everywhere in the southern portion of the state a visible reluctance to endorse the new ideas.

Against the program of conciliation was arrayed the extremist faction, headed by Drake and the state administration. The spokesmen of this group, and they were not few in number, were careful to disavow any vindictive and partisan feeling toward the disfranchised whites; few indeed had the temerity to advocate permanent disqualification. The extremists, however, were quick to condemn the entire Grosvenor program as a gratuitous exhibition of political folly, premature, impolitic, and subversive to the future of Radicalism in Missouri. The submission of a universal suffrage amendment was regarded as a visionary and impractical scheme and was opposed with steadily increasing volume. To

The dire results of enfranchisement were widely proclaimed and no effort spared to show the unrepentant spirit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup>Westliche Post, June 17, 1869. This view was said to represent very forcibly "the actual position of the Radical party today on the franchise question," Democrat, June 19, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup>Democrat, June 5, 1869; also, Herald, Aug. 5, 1869; Argus, April 7; Westliche Post, June 28, 1869.

<sup>100</sup> For example, see Democrat, June 29, 1869.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., June 16; Statesman, June 4, 1869; Herald, July 8, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup>For specific detail, see Democrat, June 16, 1869; Herald, July 8, 1869; Republican, July 15, 1869; Macon Argus, Sept. 15, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup>Jefferson City Times, June 11, July 3, 16, 1869; Warrensburg Standard, May 6, 1869; Sedalia Times, Nov. 25, 1869; Southeast Enterprise, August 12, 26, 1869.

<sup>170</sup> Enterprise, Aug. 19, 1869; Morgan County Banner, July 3, 1869.

of the late rebels.<sup>171</sup> "To admit the rebels to vote is to throw every river county from the Iowa and Kansas line to St. Louis into rebel hands," warned an editor in western Missouri, <sup>172</sup> while a southeastern politician declared that ninetenths of the party were not ready even to consider white enfranchisement.<sup>173</sup> A majority of the Radical newspapers and a number of local politicians likewise were opposed to the liberal policies.<sup>174</sup> Others professed to believe that the reversal of party policy as advocated by Grosvenor was the evidence of a dark conspiracy to disrupt the Radical organization and give the Democrats control.<sup>176</sup>

The uncompromising attitude of the extremists received additional and important support from Drake. During the summer of 1869 he issued a party manifesto which stated the position which all true Radicals must adopt. 176 The liberal demand for universal suffrage and universal amnesty was contemptuously condemned as "the old and exploded Planters House scheme, dressed up a little differently but still easily recognizable."177 In his characteristically pompous manner, Drake insisted that the negro must be enfranchised before the question of rebel enfranchisement was even considered, so that every loyal man in the state, white and black, could have a voice in deciding the question of the removal of disqualifications.178 It was nonchalantly suggested that all decisions as to when, how, o to what extent the restrictions be removed be postponed until their "proper time afterward." The oracular tone of the Radical leader's utterance indicated that he adhered with instinctive tenacity to his habitual convictions and resented any consideration of a changed policy as a violation of fundamental truth. And the views which Drake expressed received the full approval of the orthodox in the party.180

<sup>&</sup>quot;"Lexington Register, July 17, 1869; Times, July 3, 1869; Enterprise, July 1, 1869. "The moment the ballot is safe in their hands, we say give it to them (rebels) but the time is not yet and we do not see the prospect coming," Sedalia Times, Aug. 19, 1869.

<sup>172</sup> Kansas City Journal of Commerce, June 29, 1869.

<sup>173</sup> Enterprise, July 1, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup>Some thirty-three Radical journals opposed, with varying degrees of intensity, the ideas of Grosvenor and Schurz. For a complete list see *Times*, Aug. 6, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Ibid., Nov. 12, 1869; Harrison Tribune, in Republican, Aug. 2, 1869; Rolla Express, March 5, 1870.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>The Actual Position of the Radical Party on the Franchise Question, in Statesman, July 16, 1869.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Times, July 1, 1869, and articles cited therein. Cape Girardeau News, July 3, 1869.

Finally, there were a considerable number of Radicals who occupied a neutral position. They did not specifically oppose universal suffrage nor did they support Drake's policy. Partly because of conviction and partly because of expediency they regarded as unnecessary in 1869 definite commitment by the Radical party on the suffrage issue. <sup>181</sup> Some were frankly opportunists, others were evasive, but all were agreed that it would be extremely unwise to attempt to force the organization to adopt the views either of extremist or of liberal. In view of the uncertainty regarding both the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and the decision of the Blair case, they felt that discussion of the Radical policy was useless agitation. There was also some resentment against the dictatorial attitude of the other groups. <sup>182</sup>

Having little to interest or to encourage them in their own party, Democrats began to dilate upon the situation confronting their opponents. In general, the Democratic spokesmen were somewhat suspicious of the professions of the liberals. They credited them, however, with sufficient sagacity to realize that disfranchisement must end sooner or later. It was confidently expected and predicted by the Democrats that the test oath for voters would be declared void in the Blair case, and thus the liberals' advocacy of its voluntary repeal was to them a plausible maneuver of practical politics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup>Boonville Eagle, July 3, 1869; Loyal Journal, July 10, 1869; Warrensburg Standard, July 22, 1869.

<sup>188</sup> Excelsior, July 3, 1869; Loyal Journal, July 3, 1869; Pleasant Hill Leader, July 2, 1869.

<sup>183</sup>St. Joseph Gazette, April 16, 1869. "The people are doclie and busy," wrote a former Democratic leader, "but Hell is in their necks, and by voting they will show it, so far as radicals are concerned, should they get a chance to vote which is rather doubtful." B. F. Massey to J. F. Snyder, July 15, 1869, Snyder Papers.

<sup>184</sup> Democrat, March 26, 1869; Standard, April 8, 1869.

<sup>188</sup> Republican, June 4, 1869; Statesman, July 16, 1869.

There was some belief, indeed, that the liberals spoke with conviction and should be accorded credit and sincerity. 180 A few Democrats began cautiously to consider the advisability of union between their organization and the moderates, 187 but many were rigidly impartial, and frankly skeptical of any coalition.188 It was plausibly argued that, once the disqualifications were removed, the Democracy would have an accession of some sixty thousand votes, 189 and assume control without any union of forces with "the little minority that now lords it over the people of the state."190

No very acute observation was necessary to show how deep was the conviction among most Democrats that the test oath for voters would be declared unconstitutional. Prudent and reflecting party observers, however, did not share this serene optimism. So early as the summer of 1869, a prominent leader in central Missouri, John W. Henry, 191 proposed that in case the Supreme Court upheld the test oath, "a few sensible men from each section of the State meet in St. Louis.....to agree upon the proper plan of conducting the canvass next fall."192 It was hoped that such a gathering of influential and intelligent Democrats could agree upon a platform and plan of campaign to be accepted later by a heterogeneous state convention. 198 Henry's plan recommended a careful and confidential canvass conducted by Glover, Broadhead, D. H. Armstrong, the chairman of the state committee, and George Knapp, the editor of the Republican, with local leaders throughout the state. 194 If the latter group endorsed the plan, a pre-convention meeting would be held to work out in detail a policy for the party during the campaign of 1870.195 In view of the tactics which the Democracy later adopted, Henry's ideas were of considerable importance. Until the decision of the Supreme Court was finally known, however, it would have been unwise to advocate openly the procedure urged by Henry, even should it be approved by the state and local leaders.

<sup>184</sup> Sedalia Democrat, June 10, 1869; Memphis Conservative, June 18, 1869. 187 Gazette, Sept. 5, 1869.

<sup>188</sup> Ralls County Record, July 8, 1869; Louisiana Journal, July 10, 1869; Fulton Telegraph, July 22, 1869.

<sup>188</sup> Republican, June 22, 1869. This estimate is probably too high.

<sup>190</sup> Ralls County Record, in Times, June 25, 1869.

<sup>181</sup> Henry had long been a leader of the Missouri bar and actively associated with the Democratic party. United States Biographical Dictionary, Missouri volume, (New York, 1878), pp. 639-40.

<sup>102</sup> Henry to J. O. Broadhead, Aug. 30, 1869, Broadhead Papers.

<sup>188</sup> Thid

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Thid

During the months of 1869, Democrats awaited restlessly the opinion in the Blair case. 196 In March, 1867, the Supreme Court of Missouri in a unanimous decision had upheld the oath of loyalty for voters, and an appeal to the federal courts had immediately been taken. 197 In the argument before Missouri's tribunal, Blair's attorneys, Glover and Gantt, with an impressive display of legal learning, endeavored to show that the oath of lovalty for voters was a bill of attainder and an ex post-facto law, the argument being practically the same as in the Cummings case. 198 Drake, who appeared for the defendant, was equally insistent that the people of the state, in framing their Constitution, had unlimited and absolute power over the suffrage qualifications and the right to exercise that power "when they please, how they please, in favor of whom they please, against whom they please, without accountability to, or subject to the revision of, any authority or tribunal."199

The decision of the court proceeded on the theory that the exercise of the elective franchise was not in any sense a natural right. The State of Missouri in prescribing the qualifications for voters was acting in its exclusive province and was under no restraints whatever imposed by the Federal Constitution.<sup>200</sup> The court rejected summarily the idea that the right to vote was a vested right, and concluded that the arguments in the Cummings case were inapplicable to the Blair contest.

The decision was expected by the Democrats and they made immediate appeal. In February, 1868, the United States Supreme Court overruled a motion to advance the case, and it was not until March, 1869, that it was finally presented. The plaintiff in error was represented by Montgomery Blair and W. M. Evarts while Drake appeared for the defendants. Blair's argument consisted in great measure of a rehearsal of the political history of the state since 1861, and a bitter attack on Missouri Radicalism. Drake's argument was substantially the same as the one he had delivered before the Missouri court, interspersed with a graphic account of the civil war in Missouri. The final discussion of Evarts was a learned presentation of the constitutional aspects of the case.

<sup>186</sup> For the earlier aspects of the controversy, see ante, pp. 108-10.

<sup>107</sup> Blair v. Ridgely et al. (1867), 41 Missouri 63.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-132.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., pp. 168-80.

<sup>201</sup> Statesman, May 17, 1867.

<sup>202</sup>File of Briefs, 1869, vol. I, pp. 9-21.

<sup>203</sup> Statesman, April 9, 1869.

During the spring of 1869, the Democrats were hopeful that a quick and favorable decision would be rendered.204 Blair, always an optimist where his political fortunes were concerned, felt confident of the court's action. "I anticipate a favorable decision," he wrote, "but at the same time I am aware of the meanness and subserviency of the bench. Still I have some reasons of a private nature for believing that the court will in this case give a just decision......Even Sam Glover who has been in Washington this winter and who always looks to the gloomy side of every question, is very confident.205

But as the weeks passed and no decision was announced, the Democrats were filled with apprehension. Twice was the decision postponed and then deferred to the October term of the court. "If the Blair case is decided in favor of the Rads we confess that we have very little hope in regard to the result of future elections," wrote a Democratic observer.206 Owing to the death of Justice Wayne, the court consisted of but eight members, and there was fear that the case would not be finally decided until after the appointment of a Radical.207

When no verdict was rendered during the autumn of 1869, Democrats were not reluctant to attack the judicial organ for its "wicked and treasonable delay." Democratic hopes had been stimulated by the tenor of kindred decisions made public in 1869, and the leaders were ill prepared calmly to accept the vexatious uncertainty. "Nearly three years the cause has been waiting, waiting, waiting," wrote Glover, "the case has been fully heard and was now put before the judges almost a year ago."200 It was apparent in December that no decision would be announced until late in the winter of 1870, and the deep doubts as to the future Democratic policy were thus intensified.210

Another factor in the involved political situation was the federal patronage. During the senatorial contest, Drake had

<sup>204</sup> Republican, March 11, 1869; Sedalia Democrat, March 25, 1869. "Montgomery B. thinks the case was well presented and that they will gain their case, confided Gideon Welles to his Diary. "He is, however, a sanguine man and never doubts that his brother Frank is always right. I think he is in this instance." Vol. III, p. 566.

<sup>205</sup> Blair to Rollins, April 13, 1869, Rollins Papers.

<sup>108</sup> Republican, June 9, 1869.

<sup>207</sup>St. Joseph Gazette, May 29, 1869. Wayne had concurred in the majority opinion in the Cummings case.

<sup>208</sup> Sedalia Democrat, Dec. 2, 1869. The court was characterized as "a junto of truckling and partizan judges, a conclave of charlatans," St. Joseph Gazette, Nov. 20, 1869.

<sup>300</sup> Glover to S. Hutchins, Statesman, Nov. 19, 1869.

<sup>210</sup> Democrat, Dec. 17, 1869.

alleged that his opponents in St. Louis were determined to control the federal appointments, and specifically charged that the opposition of the *Democrat* to him was based upon his refusal to endorse certain persons for positions in the internal revenue service. Schurz, who was usually indifferent to the considerations of practical politics, had assured Drake that he would deal with him in patronage matters in a "just and fair" manner. <sup>212</sup>

That the owners of the *Democrat*, Fishback and McKee, were interested in the patronage was already known. Prior to Grant's inauguration, they had been decidedly anxious to secure for a local politician, Constantine Maguire, the appointment as collector of the internal revenue. Their efforts had not been successful. It was charged repeatedly that McKee would demand that his brother, Henry McKee, be named deputy collector.<sup>213</sup> Drake's view that Schurz and Finkelnburg, a congressman from St. Louis, would lend themselves to the machinations of professional politicians was unquestionably distorted, as later events plainly indicated.

The accession of Grant to the presidency added further complications. In consultation with leading Radicals of the state, Drake and Schurz had agreed upon a list of men for federal appointments and had recommended them to Grant.<sup>214</sup> The actions of the president caused amazement and resentment among his followers in Missouri. Grant had formerly lived in St. Louis and desired to reward his friends there. Scant attention, therefore, was given to the claims or suggestions of Missouri senators and congressmen,215 appointments being determined by personal regard or by caprice.216 The collectorship was bestowed upon C. W. Ford, almost unknown as a Republican, but who had assisted Grant financially before the war.217 With a distressing lack of political judgment, the president appointed as supervisor of internal revenue John McDonald, of doubtful repute, who later became a leader in the notorious whiskey ring.218 There was a general opposition to McDonald, voiced by political leaders and by busi-

<sup>211</sup> Address to Radical Caucus, Jan. 7, 1869, Schurz Papers.

<sup>212</sup> Democrat, Jan. 8, 1869.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., Jan. 4, 15, 1869.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup>Statesman, April 16, 1869. <sup>215</sup>Herald, April 13, 1869.

<sup>118</sup> Erastus Wells to J. F. Darby, March 11, 1869; Darby to A. R. Corbin, Feb. 24, 1869; Corbin to Darby, Feb. 28, 1869, Darby Papers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup>Statement of Grosvenor in New York Herald, no date, but presumably November, 1875, Grossenor Papers.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid

ness men.219 The policy pursued by Grant and the character of his appointments not only astounded the Radicals of Missouri, of all degrees, but were instrumental in raising against him the powerful opposition of McKee, who was highly indignant at his failure to control the collectorship.220

Thus, as the year 1869 closed, the political situation in Missouri remained unsettled. Neither party apparently had been able to devise a solution for its particular problems which was acceptable and could be translated into a policy. The lack of leadership in both parties, and the failure of the Supreme Court to announce the decision in the Blair case accentuated the difficulties.

219 Ibid., see also, John McDonald, Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring (St. Louis, 1880), pp. 25-26.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid. There is probably a connection between this situation and the formation, later, of the whiskey ring and the systematic defrauding of the national government.

### HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

A common theory widely accepted places quality in conflict with quantity of work. The accuracy of this assumption is so frequently observed among artisans that it is regarded as applicable to artists. The average man is perhaps not remarkable for either quantity or quality of output. But the exceptional, the outstanding figure may be noteworthy in both characteristics. The life of the late Denton J. Snider of St. Louis is apropos.

Regarded by savants as possibly the foremost intellectual writer Missouri has produced, Denton J. Snider was the author of nearly three score of works. Many of these are remarkable, all reveal deep insight and laborious thought. Here is a philosophical and psychological interpreter of art and literature, history and biography.

This man is at home with Homer and Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe. He was a friend of Emerson and Harris, Brockmeyer and Blow. If real instruction is wanted and suggestions desired for enlarging thought and vocabulary, read his "St. Louis Movement." The best interpretation I have read of the Great and Little Giants from Illinois is his "Abraham Lincoln." Yet Denton J. Snider, like Missouri's great Platonist, Thomas M. Johnson of Osceola, is scarcely known to fame and seldom read except by scholars. Neither knew how nor cared to advertise.

A Missourian traveling along State highway No. 2 last year was asked by his business companion, a resident of another state, if he would point out and explain the historic places along the road. They passed from St. Louis thru St. Charles, the Daniel Boone country, Duden's land, and college and state institution counties, traversed the Boon's Lick and Santa Fe trails thru Old Franklin, the genetic center

of culture for Central Missouri, and Boonville, were within hailing distance of Fayette, Glasgow, Hardeman's Garden, Indian forts, historic taverns, Arrow Rock, Marshall, and Lexington,—and the only historic spot described by the host was his own town of which he knew little beyond the recent events of a few decades. The man is now a student of Missouri history!

The awakened interest in local and national history is most concretely observed in the press. County and city newspapers, the mirrors of public taste as well as opinion, contain more historical articles than ever before. The trend has even lapped over into the business side. Scores of advertisements are now headed by and in large measure frequently devoted to some historic person or event. Booklets devoted to the annals of private firms and large corporations are now struck off in increasing numbers. A historic consciousness is awakening.

#### APPRECIATION

Every issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* is splendid. The research and the popular articles are mixed cleverly. Although I have been away from Missouri for a dozen years I wait impatiently for the *Review*.— H. A. Trexler, Birmingham, Alabama, November 6, 1925.

I do not want to miss *The Missouri Historical Review* for I think it a most valuable magazine and I never miss an opportunity to tell my friends in the various organizations that it should be in the home of every Missourian.—Mrs. W. W. Graves, Jefferson City, Missouri, November 6, 1925.

I spent considerable time Sunday in reading the several interesting articles in *The Missouri Historical Review* and it occurs to me that it is one of the most interesting and instructive publications which comes to my attention. My son is a senior in the high school here and he is also very much interested in the *Review*.—Roy A. McCoy, Jefferson City, Missouri, November 9, 1925.

I find this number of *The Missouri Historical Review* so very interesting in historical data that I feel that I would be remiss as a Missourian if I did not provide myself with the future copies thereof.—Nat M. Shelton,

Macon, Missouri, November 11, 1925.

The October issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* is up to the mark and more. I read especially with interest and pleasure Thomas S. Barclay's article on "The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri." It shows study, ability and a careful examination of documents.—W. O. L. Jewett, Los Angeles, California, November 14, 1925.

The Missouri Historical Review is attracting a great deal of attention, and the article on "The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri" is very much appreciated by the older men who lived here during the times therein mentioned. I do not know of any article referring to the political history of Missouri that has attracted my attention so much as this article, and that seems to me so absolutely correct in every respect.—W. B. Thompson, St. Louis, Missouri, December 7, 1925.

We greatly enjoy The Missouri Historical Review.—Miss S. J. Harris, Fulton, Missouri, January 16, 1926.

More and more, as new issues of *The Missouri Historical Review* appear, am I made to wonder that our membership does not increase by the thousands. What a loss the non-members are sustaining in not being members of this splendid society.

The State Historical Society is doing a work that is priceless, measured in materialistic terms. A work that every Missourian should be proud to assist in—if only by giving it his support—by being a member of the Society. I belong to several state historical societies—all are doing a priceless work for their respective states. But I know of no historical society that is doing a greater work or doing it better than ours of Missouri. Here is indulging the hope that in every way the year 1926 may be the best in the history of the Society, and that Missourians generally may awaken to the great value of the Society and aid it in every way—especially by becoming members.—Charles A. R. Woods, Louisiana, Mo., January 16. 1926.

I am so proud of *The Missouri Historical Review*. Every number excels the other, if it could. How wonderful the work! how interesting! to find things about your own family in it.—Mrs. John H. Reed, Huntsville, Mo., January 25, 1926.

I gladly renew my membership in The State Historical Society of Missouri. I greatly enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review*, as the articles are timely. Anyone who wishes to keep posted on the past history of this great State should be a member of this Society and read the Quarterly closely.—Alex H. McDonald, St. Joseph, Mo., February 23, 1926.

I read each issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* with a great deal of interest and cannot understand why the membership dues are not in excess of \$1.00.—Jesse P. Crump, Kansas City, Mo., February 6, 1926.

The Missouri Historical Review improves with each issue. Every native Missourian should be proud of such a publication. Every teacher of United States history and civil government should be a subscriber to The Missouri Historical Review.—W. L. Skaggs, Paragould, Arkansas, Feb. 15, 1926.

Permit me to express the great pleasure I am having in reading *The Missouri Historical Review*. It is always looked forward to and welcomed.

—George M. Block, St. Louis, Mo., February 17, 1926.

Of all the magazines and periodicals that come to my desk, The Missouri Historical Review is most eagerly read. The last number is especially

interesting. I have greatly enjoyed each article in it. My old friend, R. J. Britton, has an article therein that is especially interesting to me, for it concerns the history of my old home community in Daviess county.—P. T. Harman, Lynchburg, Virginia, February 26, 1926.

### MISSOURI'S FIVE CONFEDERATE LEADERS

Selection of the five distinguished Missouri leaders in the service of the Confederacy, whose figures will be carved on the Stone Mountain Memorial near Atlanta, Georgia, was made this March by a special Missouri committee of nine. The men selected were Major General Sterling Price, Brigadier General Joseph O. Shelby, Major General John S. Marmaduke, Brigadier General Francis Marion Cockrell, and Governor Claiborne F. Jackson. Ratification of these nominations has been received from Mr. Hollins N. Randolph, president of the Stone Mountain Confederate Memorial Association of Atlanta, Georgia. The select Missouri committee was composed of Mrs. Charles Faris, of St. Louis, former state president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mrs. Bernard C. Hunt, of Columbia, state president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mrs. Frank S. Leach, of Sedalia, president of the Emmett MacDonald Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Mrs. Hugh Miller, of Kansas City, former state president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Frederick D. Gardner, of St. Louis, former Governor of Missouri, A. C. Moreno, of St. Louis, expresident of the Sons of Confederate Veterans of Missouri, Archibald A. Pearson, of Kansas City, state president of the United Confederate Veterans of Missouri, Perry S. Rader, of Jefferson City, Historian and Floyd C. Shoemaker, chairman.

## A SOUTHEAST MISSOURI HISTORIAN SUCCESSFULLY EXPLOITS LOCAL ANNALS

I am sending under another cover complete volumes I and II of the *Community* and the issues of volume III to date.

In my work for the Southeast Missouri State Teachers College at Cape Girardeau, I have organized community history clubs throughout the district, starting with 27 boys and girls at Gideon, a small sawmill town, I have now nearly 3000 in the contest. The first year there were 321 contestants, the second year 1575, and this year started with 2700, which number has now reached nearly 3000—quite a gain, is it not?

The Indian legends used were gathered by me from my ancestors and other pioneers of Southeast Missouri. I began collecting legends and pioneer stories more than a half century ago and still am picking up bits of unwritten history in unexpected places.

You have no idea how my boys and girls enjoy it. Many of them know more local history than their parents or teachers. Most of the teachers are co-operating beautifully and a large number of adults are in the contest, but of course, they are not entitled to any of the prizes.

My Indian pageant and musical drama at our college last summer, giving the Indian and French episode of "La Fete du Ble," with about 300 in the cast, was so favorably received that I am now writing the story and songs for another—"The Death of Minasauk" for the coming summer.— Allan Hinchey, Cape Girardeau, Feb. 14, 1926.

### ROBERT P. CLARK, COOPER COUNTY PIONEER

In the January *Review* I was much interested in the article by Mr. Vandiver on "Reminiscences of General John B. Clark," who was my great, great uncle.

General Clark's older brother, Robert Patterson Clark, to whom Mr. Vandiver refers, was my great grandfather, and Robert P. Clark's son, Bennett C. of Boonville, was my grandfather, whom I well remember.

I have a splendid picture of my grandfather, with his long, white beard, taken by Frank Lionberger of Boonville.

The History of Cooper County records that my grandfather Bennett C. was the first white child born in Cooper county.

On January 8, 1821, the first court of Cooper county was held at my great grandfather's house in Boonville. Mrs.

William M. Williams of Boonville, a cousin, tells me this log house on High street, overlooking the Missouri river, is still standing and in good condition.

As you no doubt recall in Cooper county's history, Robert P. Clark was the first clerk after the organization of the County in 1818, which position he held by repeated reelections, for 23 years, until his death in 1841. He was also a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Missouri, in 1820.—Mrs. E. N. Hopkins, Lexington, Mo. Feb. 15, 1926.

### INFORMATION WANTED ON HELM FAMILY

Charles Helm, a Kentuckian, settled in Boone county, Missouri, in the early 1830's. Although very aged, he was still living at the time of the Civil War. He was the eldest son, and possessed the family records, which he is believed to have brought to Missouri with him. A member of the Helm family, who is collecting facts about it in Kentucky, would like to get copies of these records. We shall be grateful for information concerning Charles Helm or his descendants.—Florence Helm, Free Public Library, Webb City, Mo.

### AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF MISSOURI TO ADVERTISE STATE

Through the travel bureau, a new department of the Automobile Club of Missouri, tourists will be enabled to accurately ascertain reliable hotel and garaging accommodations in the various cities of Missouri as well as the latest information on road conditions in the State.

In this department is vested the responsibility for the installation of filing racks containing pictures and general information of every town and resort in the State in hotels and Automobile Club headquarters throughout the middle west. Two of these racks, of revolving type, are in operation locally at the Chase and Jefferson hotels in St. Louis, and additional racks are to be placed within the immediate future. The local racks at present contain information incidental to the state of Indiana, but this information will be supplanted by Missouri information.

In placing these racks in operation, the Automobile Club is motivated by a desire to place before the middle west as much information as possible regarding the beauty spots of Missouri and advantages offered the tourist in this section.

### PERSONALS

J. H. Barker: Born in Indiana in 1860; died in Vanzant, Missouri, April 23, 1925. He was elected judge of the county court of Douglas county in 1902, and was re-elected in 1904 and 1906.

W. H. Baskett: Born in Shelby county, Kentucky, February 10, 1841; died in Elsberry, Missouri, April 15, 1925. He served in the Confederate army during the Civil War. In 1910 he was elected associate judge of the county court of Lincoln county, and served for two terms.

John F. Beal: Born in Knox county, Missouri, in 1855; died in Kirksville, Missouri, March 30, 1925. He was at one time collector and treasurer of Knox county, Missouri. Later he was elected mayor of Edina, Missouri. He was active in political affairs and held positions in Washington, D. C. and Jefferson City, the latter under the administration of Governor Gardner.

Charles G. Burton: Born in Cleveland, Ohio, April 4, 1846; died in Kansas City, Missouri, February 25, 1926. He studied law in his native state, and came to Nevada, Missouri in 1870. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in Company C, of the 19th Ohio Volunteers, and served throughout the war. He was elected to Congress from what is now the fifteenth district, and served from 1894 to 1898. He was delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention of 1896. In 1896 he was appointed collector of internal revenue for the western district of Missouri. He was state commander of the G. A. R. and was later elected as national commander of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

William G. Busby: Born in Carroll county, Missouri, April 3, 1873; died in Kansas City, Missouri, January 4, 1926. He was educated in the public schools of Carroll county and the University of Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1894. He began the practice of law in Carrollton and in 1898 was elected mayor of that city, which position he held for two terms. In 1910 he was elected State Senator from the Eighth Senatorial District. Following the expiration of his term in the Legislature he was appointed assistant attorney to the Public Service Commission. He was later made chairman of this commission. After his service in this position he moved to Kansas City and resumed the practice of law.

Newlan Conkling: Born in Carroll county, Missouri, November 4, 1873; died in Carrollton, Missouri, February 15, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of Carrollton, and later studied law at home. In 1896 he was admitted to the bar, and in 1900 he was elected representative of Carroll county. He served in this position for three terms, from 1901 to 1907.

William W. Cook: Born in Illinois in 1843; died in Kansas City, Missouri, January 25, 1925. He served in the Union army during the Civil War. In 1874 he was elected county clerk of Cass county, and held this office for four years.

William J. Cotten: Born in Windsor, Missouri, May 20, 1863; died in Kansas City, Missouri, December 9, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of Windsor and Central College at Fayette. He was connected with the *Windsor Review* almost continuously for forty years, and at the time of his death had been its editor for thirty-five years.

Robert W. Dunn: Born in Benton county, Missouri in 1857; died in Boise, Idaho, January 17, 1925. He was graduated from the Central Missouri State Teachers College in 1881. He was immediately elected superintendent of schools of Warrensburg, and later held a similar position in Holden, Missouri. In 1891 he was elected superintendent of schools of Johnson county. He served for one year and then moved to Wallace, Idaho. He was admitted to the bar of Idaho. He served Shoshone county, Idaho, as state attorney for several years and was later elected to the District court. While in the latter position he was appointed to the Supreme Court, and in 1924 he was elected Chief Justice of this court.

J. L. Fort: Born in West Virginia, February 18, 1854; died in Dexter, Missouri, January 29, 1925. He served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Stoddard county. From 1898 to 1910 he was circuit judge of Dunklin county, and for several years after this he served as reporter of the Springfield Court of Appeals. He was appointed assistant attorney-

general under Attorney-General Jesse W. Barrett.

Nelson A. Franklin: Born in Putnam county, Missouri, October 28, 1859; died in Unionville, Missouri, February 28, 1925. He was educated in the district schools of Putnam county and Unionville High School. In 1881 he began teaching school and continued this until 1887, at which time he was admitted to the bar. In 1912 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Putnam county. During the war he was appointed to fill a vacancy in this office, and served for one year. He was a former member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Charles P. Grandfield: Born in Middletown, Missouri, in 1862; died in Washington, D. C., April 7, 1925. He was educated in the State Normal School at Warrensburg, Westminster College at Fulton, and the Washington Medical School; he was graduated from the latter in 1889. He became a clerk in the Post Office Department in Washington, and after several promotions was appointed First Assistant Postmaster General in 1908. He held this position until 1913.

Isaiah Hanna: Born in Cooper county, Missouri, February 27, 1835; died in Montserrat, Missouri, February 15, 1925. He served one term as judge of the county court

of Johnson county.

C. P. Hess: Born in Prussia, September 9, 1837; died in Macon, Missouri, August 26, 1925. He was educated in his native land, and came to the United States in 1854. During the Civil War he served in the Union Army, and in 1868 he was admitted to the bar. In the same year he was elected judge of the county court of Saline county and served for two terms. Later he was city attorney of Macon, then from 1899 to 1902 he edited the *Macon Citizen*.

Samuel Hill: Born in Morgan county Ohio, July 14, 1865; died in Trenton, Missouri, January 27, 1925. He at-

tended the public schools of Grundy county, Missouri, and in 1889 was graduated from Grand River College. The following year he was admitted to the bar. Also in 1890 he was elected judge of the probate court of Grundy county, which office he held for two terms. In 1902 he was elected recorder of deeds of Grundy county, and served here for two terms. Under the administration of Governor A. M. Hyde he was warden of the Missouri state penitentiary for two years.

Thomas Russell Hill: Born in Henry county, Kentucky, August 29, 1837; died in Plattsburg, Missouri, June 24, 1925. He served for twelve years as judge of the county court of Clinton county.

Wilbert R. Ilvaine: Born in New Philadelphia, Ohio, in June, 1845; died in Lebanon, Missouri, February 25, 1925. He was a member of the Union forces during the Civil War. He came to Missouri in 1885, and served one term as judge of the county court of Laclede county.

A. W. Johnson: Born in Audrain county, Missouri, in September, 1848; died in Salisbury, Missouri, in March, 1925. For a time he taught school but later studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1875. He practiced his profession for forty-five years in Paris, Missouri. He served one term as representative in the Missouri Legislature from Audrain county. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

William F. Johnson: Born in Shelbyville, Missouri, February 8, 1861; died in Boonville, Missouri, March 18, 1925. He was educated in Brandenburg Seminary in Kentucky, and Shelbina College in Missouri. He was associated with his brother in the Pilot Grove Collegiate Institute at Pilot Grove, Missouri. He was state representative from Cooper county at the session of 1888-89. In the latter year he was admitted to the bar. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Cooper county in 1896 and was re-elected in 1908 and 1910.

I. I. Kibby: Born in 1860; died in St. Louis, Missouri, May 20, 1925. He served two terms as treasurer of De-Kalb county.

John S. Klingenberg: Born in 1851; died in Concordia, May 1, 1925. He was elected judge of the county court of Lafayette county in 1904 and served two terms.

Charles A. Krone: Born in February, 1836; died January 11, 1926, in St. Louis, Missouri. As a child he took great interest in acting, and often staged such plays as *Macbeth* and *Othello* in his home. He learned the printer's trade and worked on a newspaper until 1858. At this time he decided upon a theatrical career and started in juvenile parts. He continued on the stage until 1890, when he retired. He staged most of his performances in St. Louis and Louisville under the DeBar management, but he also traveled throughout the United States. He usually took the parts of the "villian" in the dramas of Shakespeare, Goethe, and German authors. He was also known as a linguist, lecturer on classical literature, student of philosophy, and a critic of art and sculpture.

E. S. Lett: Born in St. Francois county, Missouri; died in Fredericktown, Missouri, June 16, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of St. Francois county. He later moved to Madison county and engaged in the mercantile business. He was the representative of Madison county in the Forty-fifth General Assembly.

John H. McCann: Born in Muskingum county, Ohio, November 5, 1835; died in Clinton county, Missouri, February 23, 1925. He received his early education in Muskingum county, Ohio, and later taught school in Illinois from 1857 until 1867. In 1867 he moved to Henry county, Missouri. He served as judge of the county court of Henry county for two terms.

George H. Nester: Born in Linn county, Missouri, January 28, 1856; died in Bucklin, Missouri, March 25, 1925. He was justice of the peace for thirty-five years. In 1898 he was elected judge of the county court of Linn county. He was vice-president of the Old Settlers' Association.

Orville Augustus Nickels: Born in Scott county, Virginia, August 19, 1869; died in Springfield, Missouri, January 9, 1925. In 1876 he came to Pulaski county, Missouri, and

from 1918 to 1922 he served as judge of the county court of Pulaski county.

F. G. Richards: Born in Hannibal, Missouri, May 27, 1867; died in Hannibal, Missouri, April 8, 1925. He attended the public schools of Hannibal, and in 1894 was graduated from the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy. In 1915 he was elected judge of the county court of Macon county. He held this office for two terms, and was later elected county collector. He was serving the second term in this office at the time of his death.

David H. Smith: Born in Ralls county, Missouri, August 22, 1847; died near Center, Missouri, May 20, 1925. He was educated in the schools of Ralls county. He served two terms as judge of the county court of Ralls county.

W. P. Sullivan: Born in Mauston, Wisconsin, June 2, 1870; died in Billings, Missouri, April 17, 1925. He attended the public schools of Christian county, and Marionville College. Later he studied law at home and was admitted to the bar. He had served as representative of Christian county, and state senator from the Nineteenth Senatorial District.

J. R. Taylor: Born in Milbrook, Missouri, January 3, 1845; died near High Point, Missouri, March 4, 1925. He

served as judge of the county court of Cole county.

Alexander H. Waller: Born near Carrollton, Missouri, April 13, 1845; died in Huntsville, Missouri, March 18, 1925. He was educated in the district schools of Clay county and in the seminary at Mount Gilead. He served as deputy circuit clerk of Randolph county from 1875 to 1877, and was admitted to the bar in the latter year. Shortly afterward he was appointed city attorney of Huntsville. In 1878 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Randolph county and served three terms. He was mayor of Moberly from 1899 to 1900, and in 1903 he was appointed judge of the Ninth Judicial District, and he held this office until 1917. He was the author of a history of Randolph county published in 1920.

E. L. Willeford: Born in Bond county, Illinois, October 7, 1850; died near Morton, Missouri, June 20, 1925. He attended the public schools of Bond county, and later a private academy at Greenville, Illinois. For several years he

taught school in Illinois, and in 1888 he was elected to the Legislature of that state. In 1901 he came to Ray county, Missouri. In 1910 he was elected to the Legislature, and was re-elected in 1912.

John M. Wood: Born in Kentucky in 1856; died in St. Louis, Missouri, January 24, 1926. He spent his early life in north Missouri, and was educated in LaGrange College. He taught school in Clark county and studied law. In 1878 he was admitted to the bar. He practiced law in Kahoka for ten years and in 1888 was elected Attorney General of Missouri. At the expiration of his term in 1893 he moved to St. Louis and again took up the private practice of law. He was appointed to the circuit bench and served in that capacity for a time. He was formerly a lecturer in Benton College of Law, in St. Louis.

# MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

MARK TWAIN AS AN INVENTOR

From the Kansas City Star, January 21, 1926.

All of us are familiar with Mark Twain's work as a writer, some of us know of his career as a publisher, but how many of us know of him as a successful inventor? It is a fact that for a considerable period of time he derived a steady income from royalties on one of his three patents.

He called it "Mark Twain's Self-Pasting Scrapbook." The patent was granted to him June 24, 1873, according to P. J. Federico, writing in the Journal of the Patent Office Society. Twain realized the importance of being able to prove priority of invention, so, nearly a year before applying for a patent, he wrote to his brother, Orion, a letter printed in Albert Bigelow Paine's biography of Mark Twain:

"But what I wish to put on record now," the humorist wrote, "is my new invention—hence this note, which you will preserve. It is this—a self-pasting scrapbook—good enough if some juggling tailor does not come along and antedate me a couple of months, as in the case of the elastic

vest strap.

"The nuisance of keeping a scrapbook is: 1. One never has paste or gum tragacanth handy. 2. Mucilage won't stick, or stay four weeks. 3. Mucilage sucks out the ink and makes the scraps unreadable. 4. To daub and paste three or four pages of scraps is tedious, slow, nasty and tiresome. My idea is this: Make the scrapbook with leaves, veneered or coated with gumstickum of some kind; wet the page with sponge, brush, rag or tongue and dab on your scraps like postage stamps. Lay the gum in columns of strips."

The book enjoyed a steady sale for years in its original form and later in an improved form. During the first royalty period twenty-five thousand copies were sold.

### VAN BUREN-CASS COUNTY

From the Harrisonville Cass County Democrat, Jan. 21, 1926.

Ninety years ago Cass county was an undeveloped, primitive part of Missouri. Wild game and Indians were profuse, for there were not many white settlers. However, a circuit court was established, for there were, of course, disagreements between people which had to be settled—and there was crime, too. Before more is said, it is necessary to state there was no Cass county ninety years ago. Instead, there was Van Buren county.

Van Buren county was organized in 1835 and named in honor of Martin Van Buren, the eighth president of the United States. Its organization was in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri. Van Buren county then consisted of what are now Cass and Bates counties, and was a part of the Eighteenth Senatorial District, and of the Fifth Judicial Circuit. The house of James W. McClellan was designated by the act as the place where the circuit court of Van Buren county was to meet until the tribunal transacting county business should decide on a temporary seat of justice.

The home of James W. McClellan was located southeast of Peculiar and northwest of Harrisonville, and it was here that the first session of the circuit court was held, inasmuch as there was no county seat. The Democrat has been fortunate in locating the records of this court. They are kept in a volume about 8 by 12½ inches in size, the book consists of 251 pages, and the writing is well preserved. The minutes cover a period of time from December, 1835, to March, 1842. John F. Ryland of Lafayette county was appointed by Governor Daniel Dunklin as circuit judge, and it is probable that the judge's first court was held in a log cabin. Here is the record of the first sitting:

State of Missouri, County of Van Buren, ss:

Be it remembered that on this, the seventh day of December, in the year 1835, the honorable circuit court for said county met at the dwelling house of James W. McClellan, the place appointed by the act of the Legislature organizing the County of Van Buren, for the holding of said circuit court.

Present, the Honorable John F. Ryland, judge, and there being no sheriff for said county nor no clerk of said court, the coroner of said county, William Butler, is required to act as sheriff until one be duly commissioned, and the court appoints William Lyon clerk of this court pro tem.

There having been no precept for a Grand Jury and not enough persons present to form one none is sworn at this time.

Russell Hicks and Richard R. Rees are permitted to practice as counselors and attorneys at law in this court.

Court orders the clerk pro tem to procure books for the records and proceedings of this court.

Ordered that court adjourn until court in course.—John F. Ryland.
(Editor's note: This article has further data of historic interest, but
there is too much to be reprinted here. Mention is made of the change of
the seat of justice to Harrisonville. The proposal for this was made on

the seat of justice to Harrisonville. The proposal for this was made on July 27, 1837, and the first session of the court was held there in November of 1837,)

STORY OF "CENTURY INN" OF NEW LONDON

By J. Greene MacKenzie in the Quincy (Ill.) Herald, Feb. 14, 1926.

Intimately associated with the early history of Hannibal is that of New London, ten miles southwest, situated on the Red Ball route and the Pershing Way. William Jameson first settled there, "near the old spring," in May, 1800. On November 30, 1819, it was laid out as a village and in 1820 the legislature of Missouri created the county of Ralls which embraced the whole northeast Missouri. Then began a battle royal for the location of the county seat. New London, Hannibal, Saverton, Palmyra, Spalding and La Bastina were the contestants. The fight was long and bitterly fought. New London finally won the distinction of being designated as the county seat, and it is believed that "the old spring" was responsible for the victory.

The Fox and Sankee Indian tribes occupied this part of Missouri before the white man's invasion and some of the early settlers who came to make salt at the old salt spring, near the site of the city, fared ill at the hands of the dusky natives. Many were the tales of Indian skirmishes and atrocities told 'round the open fire-place in the long winter evenings of long ago. But when Jameson came he seemed to have mastered the knack of getting along with the Indians and no further trouble was experienced.

Many of the landmarks of nearly a century ago still stand and their historical associations make them points of interest to the many tourists passing through each year. The old Court House, with its great colonial columns; "the old spring," which won for them the county seat fight; the salt spring near where Freeman and De Lauiere made salt and fought the Indians; the old Matson cave, which is said to be full of bats; and chief among them all, perhaps, the Old Century Inn, first called Caldwell Tavern. All of these points of interest, as well as more, are rich in historical lore, both of the state and nation.

The Caldwell Tavern was erected in 1829 and is still in use as a hotel. In the early days it was considered very fine and some of the country's greatest men have been numbered among its guests. Thomas H. Benton was a frequent visitor there and a room was always reserved for him. Visitors to the old inn are pointed out the room which is still known as the Thomas H. Benton room. Many interesting stories are related in connection with the old tavern, one of which follows:

"One of the most interesting stories connected with the old tavern," said Judge Benton H. Megowan, of that city, a short time ago, "was that of a murder that happened right in its front door. It would not be amiss, perhaps, to prelude the story by relating the history of the case that led up to the murder. In the year 1828, Charles B. Rouse, a brilliant and accomplished young attorney, landed here and located for the practice of his profession. It was said of him that he was a young man of extraordinary acumen, holding his own with the best of the older counselors, and in those early and trying times of the young state, when litigation was rampant, clients came to him galore.

"For several years previous to this there had been feud after feud. On the one side there were arrayed the Purdom, Boarman, Matson, Porter, Tracy and other families; on the other Caldwell, Gentry, Jones, Wright, Cleaver and others. Both sides represented quite a bit of wealth and

social standing. Among the latter were men who were prominent in both county and state politics.

"On one occasion Mr. Rouse, for a client, brought suit on an old account against John Alexander Boarman, William B. Purdom and Col. Dick Matson. The amount was trivial, only \$4.86½. Judgment was obtained, execution issued and the debt collected. This was a great surprise to those judgment debtors. They found in this man Rouse a virile personality, who never stopped short of duty, as he saw it. But a fatal and sad suit it was for Mr. Rouse.

"Soon after, on the same day, Mr. Purdom met Rouse's wife on the street. He addressed her and then began to abuse her husband. This was too much for the young Kentucky bride, and with all the sarcasm she possessed, goaded by an ill will previously engendered, she proceeded to verbally flay her assailant. Then he, in a rage, deliberately spat in her face. She immediately conveyed the insult to her husband. A few hours later Mr. Rouse was walking along the street when he heard footfalls behind him. Turning, he observed Mr. Purdom following him. In the twinkling of an eye, Rouse rushed upon him like an enraged gladiator of old, jerked a pistol from his pocket and shot him to death. Walking up to the body that laid fallen at the same spot where the wife had been grossly insulted, standing over him while his life was slowly ebbing, Rouse said:

"'You dog; you will not spit in the face of another lady.' Rouse then gave himself up. He was indicted and tried for first degree murder. He took refuge in the unwritten law and was acquitted. This served only to intensify the feud feeling.

"In the course of a few months after the intense feeling and excitement had apparently died down, a strange and mysterious character appeared on the scene. All that could be gotten from him was that he was Sam Samuels. But his mission was soon to be ascertained.

"On Sunday morning, Dec. 6, 1829, at the Caldwell Tavern, now known as the Century Inn, Charles B. Rouse was mysteriously murdered. He had just finished eating breakfast and was standing in the front door. Suddenly a shot rang out and Rouse sank limply to the floor, uttered never a word and died a few moments later. The bullet had pierced him through the heart and broke the wrist of a man named Saunders who was standing near. The shot was fired from an old warehouse diagonally across the street from the tavern and about fifty yards away. The assailant had fired through a hole in the wall apparently made for the purpose.

"After the excitement had somewhat subsided the people noticed that 'Old Sams,' as he had been dubbed by the citizens was conspicuous by his absence.

"Stephen Cleaver, who had served in the War of 1812 and who had been a member of Missouri's first constitutional convention, was one of the most adroit citizens of that section of the state, and was no friend of Colonel Matson. Cleaver was apprehensive that Matson was concealing Samuels, as he had the most feasible place of concealment—the old cave located a few hundred yards from Matson's mill. A close surveillance was kept

over the house of Col. Matson but no clue could be obtained.

"A week or ten days after the tragedy, Matson and his wife made a trip to Hannibal. Cleaver secured this information in some manner, and informed the sheriff, Dabney Jones, who with David Rice, who had been deputized, the three made their way to the Matson place. Their object was not so much to search the place for 'Old Sams' as to get close to Uncle Mose, a slave on the Matson place. However, there was a snow on the ground which had fallen on the night following the tragedy, and they observed the tracks of a woman leading to the old cave. They followed into the cave and made thorough search but 'Old Sams' could not be found.

"Then they looked up Uncle Mose and proceeded to approach him by having him partake liberally of the 'credentials' to make him voluble, they finally drew from him this expression: 'Marse Cleaver, maybe you haint looked high enough in dat dare cave.' Enough had been said. Samuels was found on a large shelf of rock under which they had passed

when making their former search.

"Samuels was arrested, brought to New London and placed in jail under heavy guard. He was arraigned and a change of venue taken to Boone county. When the trial was called at Columbia, this man, who in the parlance of the street would be called a hobo, was represented by the ablest legal talent in the state. The Hon. Thomas L. Anderson, the greatest criminal lawyer in Northeast Missouri, John B. Gordon, Austin A. King, who afterward became governor, William Van Arsdell and Benjamin F. Robertson were all there to answer for the defendant. Ralls county was represented by Robert W. Wells. After a long legal battle lasting for more than two years, Samuels was convicted of murder in the first degree, and on the 13th day of December, 1831, paid the last and dreaded penalty with his life."

### FIRST SETTLEMENT OF CARONDELET

From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 24, 1925.

The first settlement at Carondelet was made in 1767, when Clement de Treget Delor, a native of France who had served as an officer in the French army, built a stone house at the foot of a rock bluff about 5½ miles south of the site of the St. Louis Courthouse. Gradually other settlers gathered around that place, and in 1804 the village which came into existence in that way contained 250 people. The inhabitants inclined to agriculture more than the neighboring village of St. Louis, who were mostly traders, and since the occupation of agriculture was not a remunerative one and they were less prosperous than their neighbors, this gave rise to the appellation of "Vide Poche," meaning "Empty Pocket," by which name the place was frequently called by the early settlers of St. Louis. The village was first named Prairie a Catalan after Louis Catalan. Later

this was changed to Louisbourg, and in 1794 that was changed to Carondelet, the latter name being given in honor of Baron de Carondelet, who was at that time Governor-General of Louisiana. The village of Carondelet was incorporated by the County Court of St. Louis County in 1832, was incorporated as a city by legislative enactment on March 1, 1851, when it was divided into three wards, and James B. Walsh was the first Mayor of the city. Carondelet was annexed to and became a part of St. Louis in 1870.

### EARLY MISSOURI POEM

From the Bowling Green Jeffersonian, Apr. 1, 1925.

(Editor's note: The following poem is widely known as a product of Missouri pioneers. Its author is unknown.)

JOE BOWERS

My name is Joe bowers,
 I've got a brother, Ike,
I came from Old Missouri,
 And all the way from Pike.
I'll tell you why I left there
 And how I came to roam,
And leave my poor old mammy
 So far away from home.

I used to love a gal there,
Her name was Sally Black,
I asked her to marry me,
She said it was a whack.
She says to me, Joe Bowers,
Before we hitch for life,
You ought to have a little home
To keep your little wife.

Says I, my dearest Sally,
O Sally, for your sake,
I'll go to Californy
And try to raise a stake.
Says she to me, Joe Bowers,
You are the chap to win,
Gave me a kiss to seal the bargain
And throwed a dozzen in.

I'll never forgit my feeling,
When I bid adieu to all,
Sal, she cotched me round the neck
And I began to bawl,

When I sot in, they all commenced, You never heard the like, How they all took on and cried The day I left old Pike.

When I got to this here country,
I hadn't nary red,
I had such wolfish feeling,
I wished myself most dead.
At length I went to mining,
Put in my biggest licks,
Came down upon the boulders
Just like a thousand bricks.

I worked both late and early,
In rain and sun and snow,
But I was working for Sally
So 'twas all the same to Joe.
I made a very lucky strike,
As the gold itself did tell,
For I was working for my Sally,
The gal I loved so well.

But one day I got a letter,
From my dear, kind brother Ike.
It came from Old Missouri,
Yes, all the way from Pike.
It told me the goldarndest news,
That ever you did hear.
My heart it is a bustin'
So pray excuse this tear.

It said my Sally was fickle,
Her love for me had fled,
That she had married a butcher,
Whose hair was awful red.
It told me more than that,
It's enough to make me swear,
It said that Sally had a baby
And the baby had red hair.

### "CALAMITY JANE"

From the Kansas City Star, Oct. 23, 1925. (Reprinted from New York Times).

One of the most romantic characters of frontier days was "Calamity Jane." She was a tough, hard-swearing, hard-riding, hard-drinking and hard-headed gunwoman.

Schooled by that great teacher, experience, she was not without her good points, chief of which was charity. In time of need, Calamity was never known to fail. Courage was hers to a point of daring and her physical battles were many.

How Calamity received her sobriquet seems a disputed fact. One old-timer says Bill Nye gave her the name in his paper, the Laramie Boomerang, in the early '70's. Another version relates that Jane got her name while traveling with a scouting band of soldiers through a deep and wooded

canyon in Dakota.

Suddenly the soldiers were surrounded by Indians. One of the officers was shot and fell from his horse. As he slid to the ground a redskin dashed up to scalp him. At this juncture Jane galloped up, clinging to her horse's side Indian fashion. She shot the redskin before he could accomplish his grim mission and, with a struggle, hauled the limp body of the soldier across her horse.

When he regained consciousness the young officer stated that "a man was unusually lucky to have such a heroine as Jane around in times of 'calamity.' " His apt combination of words, together with Jane's popularity with the regiment, it is said, gained her the sobriquet, "Calamity," a title which clung to the end of her days.

The most accepted version, however, is that in almost every calamitous affair which took place in the Black Hills frontier days, and there were many, they were sure to find Calamity at the bottom of the heap.

As to the actual birthright of Jane, it is best stated in her own words: "My maiden name was Martha Cannary and I was born in Princeton, Mo., May 1, 1852. My father and mother were natives of Ohio. two brothers and three sisters, I being the eldest of the children."

At this time Calamity was known as Mrs. Mary Burk. Jane was accounted an uncommonly good looking young woman, with a lithe form, a smooth complexion, auburn hair and sparkling dark brown eyes full of

the fun of life.

It seemed that fate had destined Calamity Jane to lead a life of adventure where oftentimes her gun was her best friend. The early death of her parents, her rugged life in Indian wars, her experiences amid traveling bands of scouts and the dangers of the open prairie all combined to make Calamity a woman who feared neither man, beast nor spirit.

Her dexterity with firearms soon gave her a reputation that commanded respect, and what was more important, many times warded off trouble before affairs reached "the shooting stage." She despised criminals and brutal bad men. It was this aversion that made her responsible for the capture of Jack McCall, wanted for numerous crimes. Calamity cornered Jack in a meat shop and, wielding a cleaver over his head, made him surrender.

In 1870 Calamity Jane joined General George A. Custer as a teamster and threw away woman's clothes for man's. She admitted that "at first the new duds were awkward," but from that time on Calamity passed as a man among men with no difficulty. While with General Custer she gained the distinction of being the first white woman to enter the Black Hills.

At Deadwood Gulch, S. D., during a smallpox epidemic Calamity went into the homes of the sick, administering to their needs and getting food for them when required.

In her last years Calamity Jane was compelled to request admission to the poorhouse.

At her death, August 2, 1903, she bore the scars of a dozen bullets from Indians and highwaymen, but she kept her stout courage and her warm heart to the end. She died exactly twenty-seven years to the day after "Wild Bill" Hickok, and at Deadwood her body lies next to his, for by her own request Calamity Jane was buried beside the man who fought on the right side and had many notches on his gun.

### FIRST PIANO IN THE OZARKS

From the Springfield Leader, May 3, 1915.

When in the summer of 1873 it became known that Cornelius (Neal) Bolin, owner of one of the five or six stores in West Plains, was going to buy a piano for his little daughter, Alice, and bring it to the village, tongues

were set a-wagging over the important happening.

The men folks sat around on goods boxes downtown and discussed the various obstacles which seemed to intrude themselves before such a feat. The piano, which was of the old square variety, had to be hauled over the rough hills from Rolla, Missouri, 110 miles distant, that being the nearest railroad point. One old pessimist rolled his succulent mouthful of home twisted from his right jaw to his left and predicted that the "piany would bust the freight wagon plumb to pieces before they ever got here with it."

The women folks talked excitedly about it at various meeting places and wondered "where in the world Mrs. Bolin 'ud put the pesky thing." Another perplexing question was presented in the form of who would play on the instrument, for West Plains could lay no claim to being a musical

center

The arrival of the freight wagon with the Bolin's new piano was a gala occasion. The population turned out en mass to witness the event and there were plenty of offers of assistance in moving the precious load.

A music teacher had been brought over from Texas County and when the piano was finally set up in the house she proudly went through the strains of Old Kentucky Home, With Variations, and the delight of the assemblage knew no bounds. The fate of the old square piano is now unknown.

### INDIAN WIVES AND WHITE HUSBANDS

By Josiah M. Ward in Adventure, June, 1925.

The early American Rocky Mountain trapper considered himself fortunate if he possessed an Indian wife; more so if he possessed two. It was not only the rough frontiersmen who took unto themselves Indian

helpmates; men of distinguished families married Indian girls and raised the children of the union to become useful and honorable citizens. But the men of finer ancestry never had more than one wife and rarely abandoned or repudiated them when civilization came to the West.

Col. Elbridge Gerry, grandson of "The Signer," took a Cheyenne girl as a wife long before he had viewed the coming of white women as probable. When the discovery of gold transmuted a barren waste into the lusty young city of Denver he moved his family, one and all, wife and children, to the place because it afforded nearby facilities for education. Colonel Gerry was one of the finest gentlemen the West—or the country so far as that goes—ever produced. He added lustre to an honorable name.

Colonel William Bent of Bent's Fort, grandson of the Bent who led the Boston Tea Party, and son of Missouri's first United States Judge, married a Cheyenne Indian girl and by her had three children. She died and he married her sister by whom he had two children. The five were given superior educations in St. Louis and four of them justified the expense and care. The fifth, Charles Bent, was the worst sort of renegade, a leader of outlaw Indians, who attacked farmers' houses and wagon trains, burning, pillaging and murdering.

These young Indian women possessed a charm and a comeliness that captivated men of lonely lives, such as trappers and trading-station men. They were as cheerful as a happy child, with a happy child's winsomeness; they were docile, they were faithful. And they were the only wives available in those early days except a few Mexican women who were willing to brave the wilds with the men they loved.

Their native dress was very attractive, the tunics being made of soft deer or antelope skin with long fringes at all the seams and trimmed with small polished antelope hoofs, with beads, or bits of abalone shells. Their moccasins were of deerskin and ornamented with colored beads or porcupine quills. Their black hair was either braided or confined by a fillet, and their faces were tinged with vermilion. Oftener than not they were beautiful. When they married trappers these spendthrifts decked them in the finest that could be bought, vying with each other in extravagant clothing. The Indian girls, however, after the first flurry in American "fofarraws" made them over or ornamented them in the Indian fashion. Thus proving that taste in woman's clothing is a matter of geography.

An exceptional case was that of Jim Beckwourth, a French mulatto, who fought his way to the highest chieftainship of the Crow Indians. Beckwourth made a collection of Crow maidens as wives. His score was thirteen or fourteen, each lodged in an individual teepee.

In contrast, Gerry, Bent, Fontenella, Culbertson and others of the high-class men who married Indian women was Manuel Lisa, whose father came to the United States in the service of Spain, prior to the Louisiana Purchase. Lisa was the first St. Louis fur dealer to establish forts on the upper Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers and to operate the business on a large scale, preceding Chouteau and Ashley. He began by trading with

the Osage Indians in 1800, broadened his field, accumulated a fortune, and died in 1820. Although he had a white wife living in St. Louis he also married Mitain, daughter of an Osage chief, and by her had two children, a boy and a girl, descendants of whom are still living in Western cities.

The first child, the girl, she surrendered to Lisa to be taken to St. Louis and educated. His first wife who was childless died in 1817 and he next married a St. Louis woman of high social position. He asked Mitain to surrender her second child, the boy, to him that he might have it educated. Mitain begged that she too, be taken to St. Louis, where she could at least see her children. She promised that she would not intrude upon the white wife, nor in any way create a scandal.

Lisa sternly refused her plea. He would provide for her at the fort

but the children she must give up.

Mitain gave way to all the fury of her wild nature. No longer was she the docile wife. She denounced him for his cruelty and selfishness and endeavored to flee with her boy, but Lisa took possession of the child and hurriedly departed for St. Louis. She never again saw either child.

ANDREW HENRY, OF ST. LOUIS, ESTABLISHED FIRST TRADING POST WEST OF ROCKIES

From the Times-Register, Idaho Falls, Idaho, May 1, 1925.

In the search for the location of Fort Henry on the north fork of the Snake river, Wm. Taylor of Rexburg, member of the law firm of Taylor & Denman, Idaho Falls and Rexburg, located a metal medallion near the place where history tells the old fort was located and which may have a valuable place in helping to locate the historic spot.

Mr. Taylor was a member of a searching party of several persons who spent that day, as others have before, going over the ground seeking

anything that would help to locate the spot.

Taylor found the bronze medallion, which has been sent to Washing-

ton, D. C., for identification and classification.

It is described as being made of bronze, shield-shaped and much corroded. Upon it is inscribed, and which can be easily seen, sixteen stars arranged in a semi-circle at the top of the shield. Beneath the stars are two American flags each with sixteen stars. Crossed cutlasses and crossed pistols would lead to the thought that the emblem had something to do with the army and probably belonged to some branch of the service.

The trading post, as Fort Henry was called, was built by Andrew Henry during the year 1809, or soon after the Lewis and Clark expedition, near a ford on the north fork of the Snake river a short distance below St.

Anthony.

Henry was in command of a group of trappers who operated for the Missouri Fur Co. out of St. Louis, Mo. The company attempted to contest the supremacy of the Hudson Bay Co. in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains.

Henry was driven out of the Yellowstone river section by the warlike Blackfoot Indians and on his way south came into what is now Idaho via the Teton pass, following an old Indian trail to the north fork of the Snake where he built the fort that bore his name.

As Henry was the discoverer of the north fork of the Snake that stream was given the name of Henry's Fork.

The fort was the first trading post established by a citizen of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains and the first house or permanent habitation in this latitude west of the Rocky Mountains and first establishment built on Snake river.

Meeting with indifferent success in trading Henry abandoned the fort in the year 1810, taking with him 40 packs of beaver pelts weighing 60 pounds to the pack and worth \$5.00 per pound, to St. Louis where they were sold.

Capt. Bonneville, for whom this county is named, visited the fort in the year 1832 on his way down the Snake river, as did also Father DeSmet on his way to the Flathead Indians in 1840.

There has been some doubt that the fort in question was ever established, owing to the fact that it has not been possible to locate the exact site, but there is too much written history and tradition in regard to the old structure for there to be much doubt.

The members of the American Legion are seeking to locate the site and it was while members of that order from the Rexburg post were making the search that the medallion in question was found.

J. A. Harrington of Idaho Falls, who has devoted years to gathering historic data on this section of the country and the northwest in general, has many notes and accounts on historic events which he has gathered and compiled for years. He has been making these notes since a boy when he played with the Indians of Montana and Idaho and which language he speaks as well as that of English. His father, J. A. Harrington, and his grandfather were pioneers in this section, coming to this part of the country as early as 1850 following the gold rush into California, and from there to Idaho City and Florence, Idaho. His father freighted from Corine, Utah, to Virginia City, Montana, long before there was a railroad thought of anywhere in the west. His grandfather located at Silver City in Owyhee county, this state, in 1860.

Mr. Harrington has spent much time seeking to locate the old fort and has a number of old maps which he is using in seeking to locate the site.





